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MID-AMERICA

# MID - AMERICA

## An Historical Review

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### THE MISSIONS OF LOWER CALIFORNIA\*

#### I

We must premise this article by stating that by the word California our readers are to understand the territory known under this name during the eighteenth century and now known as the peninsula of Lower California. What is at present known as Upper California and certain parts of Arizona, east of the Gila River and formerly known as New California, will not be discussed here.

Although numbering only seven or eight thousand inhabitants at the end of the eighteenth century and although able to boast of only forty missionaries within a period of seventy years, California, an arid and desert waste, has, strange to say, received more consideration from historians than many sections of the Mexican Republic more deserving of attention.

California came to be the land of mystery, the land of dreams. Early in the sixteenth century it was believed that the great Quivira and the famous Seven Cities fancied by Fray Marcos de Niza were to be found here. Even after the existence of these cities had been disproved by the great explorer, Vázquez Coronado, the hope of discovering them aroused the spirit of adventure in many of the conquistadors.

Ordoño Jiménez and his companions were not, as Clavijero supposes, the first to discover California. In 1529, two years prior to the arrival of Jiménez, Marcos Ruiz de Rojas and Melchor Díaz de Alarcón, captains of Nuño de Guzmán, explored

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\* Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Historia de la Iglesia en Mexico*, 1928, IV, 338-360. The translation from the Spanish text is by Peter P. Forrestal, C. S. C., A. M., Litt. D., St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas.

that region and discovered that California was not an island but a peninsula. It is to these two men, and not to Father Kino, that we are indebted for these data, which were first published in the *Historia de los Descubrimientos* of the Mexican historian, Baltasar de Obregón. An excerpt from Obregón's work follows:

Marcos Ruiz de Rojas and his men discovered the Tizón River [the Colorado] and along its banks found a great number of Indians, who went about naked and lived in underground dwellings. Melchor Díaz de Alarcón, who was likewise one of the captains of Nuño de Guzmán, also visited these regions and explored California both by land and by sea. The aforesaid river, which rises in the Llanos de las Vacas and empties into the Gulf of California, is very deep and has very high banks. People, of whom we know but little, live all along the gulf, for a great quantity of smoke has been seen, not only near the sea, but far inland. We find *terra firma* along this entire coast, which adjoins Quivira, Cibola Tibuex, New Mexico and Florida.

Acting, very likely, on information which he had received from these explorers, in May, 1532, Hernando Cortez sent two vessels to California. But only one of these, that under the command of Captain Ordoño Jiménez, succeeded in reaching its destination.<sup>1</sup>

Another expedition was sent over in 1533. Cortez describes as follows the preparations which were made for this expedition:

It is more than seven months since I left home and set out for this port in order to rig out these vessels, and for five months I have been living here at the dockyards. Due to my constant vigilance, my servants and the thirty Spanish workmen, whom I brought here and some of whom I pay 400 pesos a year, will soon have everything in readiness for the voyage. . . . I expect, with God's help, that the vessels will sail from here at or before the middle of August.

Although this expedition will require an outlay of more than 30,000 *castellanos* and great personal labor, I am satisfied. Two large ships, one of ninety and the other of sixty tonnage and both as strong and as well-built as any that can be found in Castile, are now sailing out in this harbor. They are well supplied with bread which, though baked in Mexico, tastes like that made in Castile, and they carry an abundance of wine, vinegar, oil, cheese, meat and fish. They are equipped with two pilots, one of whom cannot be equalled, and with sailors as efficient as any that can be found in the Levant. They are well supplied with ammunition, rigging, soldiers, navy officers, iron-smiths, and drugs. The store of provisions which they are carrying is so great and of such a good quality that it should last for more than a year and a half. Besides those already mentioned, we shall have a boat of more than 200 tonnage, which is now half

<sup>1</sup> *Carta de Hernán Cortés al Consejo de Indias*, Tehuantepec, January 25, 1533.



finished, and a smaller vessel, which is being built to carry back whatever is to be brought from California. I trust that, with God's help, this expedition will contribute greatly toward the spread of our Catholic faith and the service of the King and that it will be profitable for all concerned.<sup>2</sup>

Although Cortez had intended to place in charge of the expedition a man of experience, one of the warriors that had accompanied him in the conquest of Mexico, at the last moment he changed his plans and decided to go in person. Describing the voyage, Cortez writes as follows:

We experienced many hardships and our lives were in great danger. On several occasions we came so near being shipwrecked that my companions stripped and were ready to cast themselves into the sea. All of us felt that we would have been drowned had God not saved us miraculously. But, in spite of all the perils that threatened us, I went back for supplies in order to save the crew from starvation.

"Realizing the impossibility of proceeding farther, I established a colony in that country; I left there thirty Spaniards and gave them twelve horses and enough corn, sheep, bacon, pigs, chickens and other supplies to last them ten months. I had the intention of forming a new and larger navy, but as relatives of the men whom I had left in California complained to Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of this New Spain, I was compelled to send after those soldiers and to bring them back.<sup>3</sup>

Ulloa, by order of Cortez, Alarcón, Sebastián Vizcaíno, Antonio de Luna, accompanied by his son-in-law, Baltasar de Obregón, and many other adventurers, some at their own expense and others at the expense of the royal treasury, also made expeditions to that territory. But these perilous expeditions, most of which have been described in the many works written on California, brought no results.<sup>4</sup>

## II

The first successful explorer was the Jesuit, Juan María de Salvatierra, who entered California in 1697, and established a Christian colony. The Council of the Indies, aware of the work being done by Salvatierra, ordered the Audiencia of Guadalajara to make a full report on the recently established mission. From this official report, signed by Oidores Palma, Feijoo and Miranda, we have made the following extract:

Never, in the opinion of prudent men, was the door to California so tightly closed; never was that region so impenetrable as after the year

<sup>2</sup> Cuevas, *Cartas y otros documentos de Hernán Cortés*, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorial de Hernán Cortés al Emperador*, 1539.

<sup>4</sup> Clavijero, *Historia de la Baja California*, Bk. I, Ch. I-VII.

1683, in which the expedition of Admiral Atondo, with two large ships and with more than 100 soldiers and sailors, proved a failure. The expenditure of large sums on soldiers and supplies, three years of exploration to the seashore and across the peninsula, and the zealous labors of Fathers Kino, Cozano and Gofii brought no results. Seeing that all these efforts were futile and realizing that during the time the explorers had been in that arid, barren and unhealthful country many of them had been sick and some of them had died, those in charge of the expedition decided that the enterprise was impossible and that it should be abandoned.

The closing of the California mission, in 1686, caused deep pain to the missionaries, who knew that their neophytes were to be left without any hope of spiritual assistance. In fact, it was such a severe blow that Father Cozano lost his mind. This priest compiled a vocabulary which was used afterwards by Father Salvatierra; but, apart from this, the work of the missionaries in California had been to no purpose.

Father Salvatierra came to this country from Milan. He was assigned to the Tarahumara missions and was given the office of vice-provincial. Later on he was appointed Rector of the College of Guadalajara. But, he had become so attached to his Tarahumara Indians, that, as he himself used to say, if permitted to do so he would willingly go back there on his knees.

In 1694, that same apostolic zeal which he had shown for the Tarahumara Indians drew him toward the missions of California; but his efforts to interest others in these missions proved unsuccessful.

After being appointed Master of Novices and Rector in Tepotzotlán, Salvatierra offered all his prayers and spiritual exercises for the conversion of California. He asked of Viceroy Montezuma and of his provincial, Father Palacios, permission to labor among the inhabitants of that region. But, due to Atondo's failure, further expeditions to California had been forbidden by royal order, and, because of this, the viceroy was reluctant to grant the request. The Provincial, likewise, was unwilling to grant the permission. He declared that the funds that were being furnished by the royal treasury were not sufficient to support the missions of Sinaloa, Sonora and Parral and that, far from taking up new missions, the Society was considering the advisability of abandoning the old ones. But, in spite of all this, the zealous priest repeated the request, and finally obtained permission to leave for California.

Although but little money was collected for the new missions the zealous Salvatierra believed it sufficient. One of the first benefactors and one who is deserving of very special mention is Don Juan Caballero y Osio, a secular priest from the City of Queretaro. Besides helping to defray the current expenses, he donated 20,000 *pesos* to the first two missions, each of which has an annual income of 500 *pesos*.

Possessed of these donations and having gathered about him as many explorers as he deemed necessary for the undertaking, the hopeful Salvatierra set out for California in 1696. He pitched his tents at a place which he named Loreto and which he fortified against all possible attack. As a matter of fact, hostile Indians surrounded the town some time afterwards, but they were repulsed and peace was established.

Later on Father Salvatierra was joined by Father Francisco Piccolo,

and for two years both of these men suffered untold hardships. Because of the lack of supplies, many a time they thought of sending to Mexico all the men whom they had brought there in order to establish a colony, but they themselves had no intention of leaving the place, because they wished to live and to die among those barbarous peoples.

After they had become acquainted with the Moqui tongue the missionaries decided to make further explorations into the country, and the Californians themselves took them to places in which the work of evangelization could be carried on with less difficulty.

But, the real work of converting and of pacifying these Indians was begun only after the missionaries had learned Laimona, a language spoken by all these tribes. From the account given by Francisco Javier, a California Indian, and from the account given by Don Luis Tortolero, first captain of the garrison, Your Majesty can form some idea of the progress that has been made at these missions. We ourselves have seen and have conversed with the aforesaid Francisco Javier, who came here with two men of the type that is to be found in California, except that they are more robust. In this way, Sir, the Jesuit Fathers have begun the pacification and conversion of the Indians in this region.

As for geographical data, all we know is that the Cape of San Lucas is located at the entrance to California. So far we know nothing about distances. But, Father Eusebio Kino has undertaken a study of this territory and has made three excursions through it in the past two years. On his first journey he was accompanied by Father Salvatierra. These two men started from the Yaqui mission and visited the missions of Upper Sonora, covering a distance of 200 leagues. For want of supplies they were forced to return, but they had discovered that California was connected with New Spain and that the farther they advanced southward the more narrow the sea became.

The second expedition of exploration was made by Father Kino alone. He traveled 400 leagues and came to the Colorado River, so called on account of its red sand. He advanced thirty leagues beyond this river and came to a land which he believed to be California. From there he sent letters to Father Salvatierra, but as he received no answer to these letters he decided to return.

On his third voyage Father Kino was accompanied by Father Manuel González, who was also a Jesuit. These two priests set out with the determination of finding Father Salvatierra and of ascertaining whether or not there was any communication by land between Sonora and California. When they reached the Colorado they asked some pagan Indians to carry them across the river on their raft. But, instead of complying with their promise to do so, these pagans took them down to the sea and abandoned them. There the priests were left in the hands of Providence, and they had to remain out at sea until the incoming tide cast them upon the shore two or three days later. According to the latest report, both of them suffered severe injuries, and Father González was very sick when he reached the shore.

Some of the greatest blessings resulting from the conquest of California are the conversion of so many pagans to Catholicism and the acquisition of a kingdom which, as far as its mining and pearl industries

are concerned, is as valuable as New Spain or Peru. Pearls abound along the seashores and islands of California and the natives live on oysters. The pearls which have been discovered thus far are not the best, but as there are so many oyster beds in those localities it is only reasonable to suppose that others of a superior quality will also be found there. Some of the Spaniards are already building ships and canoes in which to cross the California sea from Yaqui, San Ignacio and other parts of Sinaloa and Sonora. These boats are to be used in the pearl industry and for commercial purposes.

There is also in California a large supply of salt. The ships from the Philippine Islands could be loaded with this salt and supplied with fresh water and fresh food. At the same time the passengers that would become sick during the voyage from San Lucas to the port of Acapulco would have a chance to recuperate. Finally, if we can accept the word of the great navigator, Sebastián Vizcaino, it is but a short distance from California to the innumerable islands of Japan.<sup>5</sup>

For a study of the apostolic labors of Salvatierra in California we have no better source than the following accounts given by the missionary himself:

Most powerful Lord: I, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, member of the Society of Jesus and superior of the mission in the Kingdom of the Carolinas or California, hereby inform Your Highness of the spiritual and temporal condition of affairs in this kingdom at the present time.

We arrived here during the month of October 1697, and as soon as we landed on these shores we were attacked by the pagans. In a battle which took place on November 13th our troops were victorious, and many of the natives were killed. After April 2, 1698, we suffered greatly for want of supplies and also from the loss of vessels and from a ten months' war. But, because of help received from God and from His Blessed Mother of Loreto we did not lose courage.

Counting missionaries, Spaniards and colonists, there are at present in this settlement of Loreto, which is near San Dionisio Bay and at 26 degrees latitude, sixty Christians from New Spain. There are also thirty Spanish troops with their captain and ensign, two soldiers of fortune from Spain, two friendly Indians, armed with bows and arrows, two mulatto servants, five Philipinos, and a large number of women and children. They live in adobe and frame buildings, all of which have good roofs and are well arranged. The whole settlement is surrounded by a wall, which serves as a protection against hostile attacks, and near by there is a boat which can be used by the Philipinos in cases of emergency. There are also two frigates which are manned by thirty seamen and by means of which we carry on commercial relations with New Spain.

Both soldiers and sailors are well paid. The captain of the *presidio* and the captains of the frigates receive 500 pesos annually, the master-at-arms 266, each soldier 300, the ensign 350, the marines from 15 to 20, the

<sup>5</sup> A. G. I., 67-1-41.

ship's boy 12, and the Spaniards who do not serve as soldiers 12. The sum total of the salaries amounts to 16,000 pesos.

Besides all this, the fitting out and repairing of the vessels entails a great expense. Furthermore, each person must be supplied with meat, corn and flour, and lard for days of abstinence. By virtue of a custom prevailing in many of the towns of New Spain, the first to obtain their provisions are the Spanish women.

Then, too, it is necessary to purchase ammunition, and in order to convert these pagans it is necessary to give them presents and clothing and to assist them in the cultivation of their crops. All this, apart from the sums spent on salaries, amounts to several thousands pesos each year.

The only assurance we have that these expenses will be met is, first of all, the word of six benefactors, each of whom promised to give 300 pesos for five years. The period for which they promised to give this annual contribution, which is sufficient to cover only a small part of our expenses, will expire next year [1701]. Part of the expenses are paid from alms, some of which are very small and may be said to drop from heaven, because thus far no official collector has been appointed.

In Loreto the Indians themselves administer justice and chastise all offenses; and during the fourteen months in which they have been taking care of our animals we have not missed any of our cattle or horses. In this short space of time we have discovered good farming and pasture lands and have found the climate healthful both for man and beast. Moreover, during this time the number of animals which we brought here and which are of eight different species has doubled.

In the Gulf of California, although oyster beds are numerous, there are but few pearls, because the hungry natives eat the oysters before they come to maturity. This condition of affairs will cease as soon as the natives have enough beef, for they will then realize that the preservation of the oyster beds is to their own interest. On the opposite side of the Gulf beautiful blue pearls have already been discovered.

The greatest blessing, however, that has attended our labors in these parts is the baptism of several hundred children. It is consoling to see these children and their parents, who are still catechumens, report to the Christian doctrine class at the sound of the bell. While writing these lines I find about me the chiefs of the tribes north and south of Loreto.<sup>6</sup>

### III

The Jesuit missionaries of later years continued the good work begun by Fathers Salvatierra and Kino, and some of them may have even excelled these early pioneers in their efforts to extend the kingdom of Christ. Expeditions similar to that of Father Kino, but which have received less attention from the historian, were undertaken by Consag from Austria, Basaldúa from Jalisco, Tamaral from Seville, Sestiga from Oaxaca, Bravo

<sup>6</sup> A. G. I., 67-1-41.



from Aragon, and Ugarte from Honduras. Father Ugarte, who until death labored zealously and patiently on those California missions, is deserving of special mention. A priest of rare talent and of great personal initiative, he has already been recognized as one of the leading educators of Mexico, and, were it not for his spirit of self-sacrificing zeal, might have asked for a change of obedience, for a cross less difficult to bear.

The numerous and reliable reports on the work carried on at the California missions tell of the many expeditions of exploration made both by land and by sea, the great physical labor of carpenter and mason, the continual exercise of patience in associating with and in instructing those perverse Indians, the earnest and oftentimes futile appeals to the vice-regal authorities and to the Council of the Indies for the paltry sums parceled out to the necessary military forces, the begging of supplies with which to feed the neophytes, and the anxiety of the missionaries after the martyrdom of their two illustrious collaborators during the revolt of the Pericues. It was probably from Father del Barco that the historian Clavijero obtained the following data:

At each of the principal missions there were small houses for the resident neophytes, a church, a home for the priest, a storehouse, a soldiers' barracks, and schools for boys and for girls. The neophytes, who lived on the outskirts of the town but who also belonged to the mission, camped out, as had been their custom before the arrival of the *Padre*. At the beginning of the XVIII century there were in California about twenty of these towns, all of which had been built by the missionaries and at great expense.

Although most of the churches were poor, every effort was made to keep them neat and clean. The church of Loreto was very large and beautifully decorated, that of San José de Comondú, built by Father Francisco, had three naves, and that of San Francisco Javier, built by Father Miguel del Barco, was also a very beautiful structure. Each mission had its choir, and a school in which the children learned to sing, and to play the harp, violin, bass viol and other instruments.

Religious functions were carried out with great pomp and solemnity, and the neophytes assisted in silence and with as much modesty and devotion as could be expected in the most Catholic towns in Christendom. These neophytes and all others who happened to be in the town attended Mass every morning, recited the Christian doctrine, and sang, in praise of God and of His Blessed Mother, a hymn which the Spaniards called the *Alabado*, because it commences with this word. On week days, after the traditional *atole*, or gruel, had been served, all left for the fields. Since they were living at the expense of the mission and were to partake of the fruits of their labor, it was only right that they should help in tilling the soil. But, as the work was distributed among many hands it was never

fatiguing; it served, moreover, as a distraction, benefitted the natives corporally and spiritually and developed in them industrious habits. All returned to the town for their noonday meal, which consisted of a great quantity of *pozole*, a sort of boiled corn of which they were very fond. In the more prosperous missions and in those which had an abundant supply of cattle a dish of meat and another of vegetables or of fruit were also served. After a long rest the natives returned to the fields, but before sunset they finished the day's work, and at the call of the bell assembled in the church to recite the rosary, and to sing the Litany of the Blessed Virgin and the *Alabado*. They then took supper and returned to their homes. When there was nothing to be done in the fields each worked at his trade.

Whenever the tribes that lived on the outskirts came to town they observed this same discipline; but, while camping outside the town each morning they studied the catechism, recited certain prayers and sang the *Alabado*. Afterwards they left for the woods in quest of food, and in the evening upon their return sang the Litany and retired to rest. There was in charge of each of these tribes a faithful and virtuous neophyte, who made a report on everything to the missionary and who saw to it that none of these pious practices were omitted and no disorders crept in. In the new missions each week two of these tribes, in order to become more thoroughly instructed in the Christian doctrine and strengthened in the faith, remained in town with the missionary, and when these left two others took their place. In the old missions two of the out-of-town tribes reported to the missionary each Saturday and left on Monday. On their principal feast and during Holy Week all the tribes gathered at the mission headquarters.

The missionary preached to the neophytes on all Sundays and festivals and at times even on week days. He was most punctual in administering the sacraments to the sick, and in order to do so was often obliged to travel from ten to twenty leagues. In the administration of the sacrament of Holy Eucharist he used great prudence, giving it only to those who were properly instructed and who by their stanch faith and truly Christian lives proved themselves worthy to receive this august sacrament. Many of the natives, not satisfied with fulfilling the Paschal precept, received communion on certain feasts, and in order to do so with the proper dispositions, prepared themselves most carefully and observed such conduct as is to be expected of those who partake frequently of the most holy Body of Christ.

Since education was considered the basis and foundation of the civil and religious life, all boys and girls from six to twelve years of age were taught at the mission headquarters, under the direction and at the expense of the missionary. Here they received a good moral and religious training and were taught such subjects as they were capable of grasping at that tender age. The boys and girls lived in separate buildings, the former under the care of a trustworthy man, the latter under that of an honorable matron.

The indefatigable zeal of the missionaries, assisted by divine grace, could not but produce abundant fruit. This peninsula, which for so many centuries had been the scene of the most barbarous practices, became



almost entirely Christian in the space of seventy years. From the Cape of San Lucas to Cabujacamanga there was not a single man who did not know and adore the true God, and, what is still more astonishing, the Christianity established in this entire region was so pure and immaculate that it could compare with that of the primitive Church. With the exception of a few Pericues, who, because of their evil inclinations and the bad example and evil suggestions of the mine workers, caused disturbances and made things disagreeable for the missionaries, all the neophytes of California were industrious and led pious and innocent lives. Among them such scandalous disorders as are common in the most Christian communities were almost unknown. If any member of the tribe committed a fault, even though this were secret, he himself was the first to ask for punishment, and, having received it, thanked the missionary and kissed his hand. This edifying practice, unknown to the Christians of Europe, was common in California.<sup>7</sup>

#### IV

The following paragraphs are taken from Count Revillagigedo's report on these missions:

At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits fifteen missions had already been founded. Later on three of these were suppressed by order of the Marquis of Sonora. From 1767 until 1772, when they were handed over to the Spanish Dominicans, the twelve remaining missions were taken care of by the Franciscans from the Apostolic College of San Fernando of this city. The Dominicans still have charge of the said missions and have established five others. The Franciscans, or Fernandinos, founded the Upper California missions as soon as the ports of San Diego de Monterrey and San Francisco had been discovered and occupied.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Clavijero, *Historia de la Antigua o Baja California*, pp. 110, 111.

<sup>8</sup> At this time the following missions were in existence:

- 1—Nuestra Señora de Loreto, situated at 25½ degrees and founded on October 20, 1697.
- 2—San Francisco Javier, at 25 degrees, founded in 1699.
- 3—Santa Rosalía Mulegé, at 26 degrees, 40 minutes, founded in 1705.
- 4—San José Comondú, at 26 degrees, founded in 1708.
- 5—La Purísima Concepción, at 26 degrees, founded in 1718.
- 6—Santiago de las Coras, at 23 degrees, founded in 1719.
- 7—Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Todos Santos, at 23 degrees, 4 minutes, founded in 1719.
- 8—Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, at 27 degrees, founded in 1720.
- 9—San Ignacio de Loyola, at 28 degrees, founded in 1725.
- 10—San José del Cabo, at 22½ degrees, founded in 1730.
- 11—Santa Gertrudis, at 28½ degrees, founded in 1752.
- 12—San Francisco de Borja, at 30 degrees, founded in 1762.
- 13—San Fernando de Belicáta, at 31 degrees. This mission had been located at Santa María in the jurisdiction of Guadalupe, but in the year 1769, the religious of this town changed the mission to Belicáta and called it San Fernando.
- 14—Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Viñadaco, at 30 degrees, 6 minutes, founded on January 7, 1774.
- 15—Santo Domingo de la Frontera, at 30 degrees, 40 minutes, founded on August 30, 1776.

In the year 1767, the missionary's field of labor extended from the Cape of San Lucas to the town of Santa María de Todos Santos, that is, from 22 degrees, 48 minutes to 30 degrees, 30 minutes; but after the new missions had been established his activities extended as far as the San Francisco mission, at 36 degrees, 56 minutes, and covered the entire coast for a distance of more than 700 leagues. Before the expulsion of the Jesuits the question of mission limits was left to the prudent judgment of various missionaries, a practice which is still observed in all parts of the peninsula.

The territories first explored and occupied were inhabited by tribes that went by various names, such as Vchitls, Coras, Pericues, Guaicurás, Cantiles, Cayeyus, etc. In the year 1740, the total number of these Indians, including both sexes and all ages, was about 22,000; at the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus the number did not exceed 8,000, and at present, including the new missions established by the Dominicans, it does not reach 6,000. This notable decrease is due partly to frequent epidemics, but especially to venereal disease, an evil so prevalent among the California Indians and so incurable that it has depopulated vast sections of the country.

Although the inhabitants of this peninsula use various dialects, they understand one another, and all of them speak Spanish also, except those at the new missions and a few old people incapable of learning it.

In accordance with the royal cedula of April 8, 1770, two Dominicans should have charge of each mission; at present six of these religious are lacking and should be supplied. In the discharge of their duties the missionaries conform to the laws and to the rules of their holy institute; they take care of the religious and civil education of the Indians and insist upon their attendance at daily Mass, catechism, rosary, sermon and the sacraments. Some of them have made every effort to perfect themselves in the various languages, and, although the use of Spanish has become general, have written grammars and dictionaries for the use of their fellow-religious. Each missionary receives an annual salary of 350 pesos; this allowance is deducted from the Pious Funds which were acquired by the Jesuit Fathers, and of which we shall speak later. They receive no remuneration from the Indians nor from the soldiers of the Loreto garrison nor from the Spanish colonists nor from the people living at the *presidio* and at the Santa Ana mines.

The articles used for divine cult and for the interior decoration of the churches are always kept clean; this is particularly true of the ten missions which were first established and which are well supplied with vestments, sacred vessels and wrought silver. The Jesuits built all the churches, except that of San Ignacio, which, not only in California, but in more civilized regions, could be regarded as a sumptuous structure and which was erected by the zealous, energetic and indefatigable Fray Juan

16—San Vicente Ferrer, at 31 degrees, 31 minutes, founded on December 20, 1780.

17—San Miguel de Encino, at 22 degrees, 4 minutes, founded on March 27, 1787.

18—Santo Tomás, at 31 degrees, 32 minutes, founded on March 26, 1791.

Crisóstomo Gómez, for many years Minister of the mission. In all the towns there are Rosary Societies, established by express authorization of the General of the Dominican Order and with the sanction of the Ordinary, but, although many have inscribed as members, these societies have remained inactive.

Each mission has an Indian governor, elected the first day of the year. On this day all the natives assemble in the church, and the Father Minister proposes three candidates whom he considers best qualified for the office. The candidate who receives a plurality of votes is chosen, and the election is then approved by the captain of the Loreto *presidio* and by the governor of the province. The governor of the mission handles problems of minor importance only, and even in these cases seeks the advice of the *Padre*, because, without assistance these Indians are incapable of rendering a fair decision.

The Indians of each town, under the direction of the missionary, who acts as their true spiritual and temporal father, enjoy the revenues derived from the crops and from the livestock. They work when ordered to do so, and the product of their labor is converted into frugal sustenance and simple garments for themselves and their families, the surplus funds being set aside for divine cult and for the up-keep of their town.

During the regular visit the Prelate or Father President examines the accounts kept by each missionary and at the end of the year sends a copy of these accounts to the governor of the province. The latter delivers this copy to the viceroy, who gives his approbation to whatever is deserving of approval and corrects whatever he considers an abuse.

The Indians of these parts are naturally indolent, stupid, licentious, deceitful and suspicious, and are fond of the free and barbarous life which they enjoyed in the wilds previous to their reduction.<sup>9</sup>

Old or Lower California is covered with rugged mountains, but in the few places where water can be found the soil is fertile and produces grapes, dates, bananas, olives, figs, pomegranates, lemons, oranges, and all kinds of grain. But, these things can be grown only in small quantities, because the small tracts of land fit for cultivation are situated between the mountains and are far apart. Nevertheless, California and Sonora export large quantities of wine, brandy and dried fruits, and, were it not for the fact that laborers are few, a profitable business in choice pearls and otter fur could be carried on along the eastern coast.

I have already stated that all the inhabitants of Lower California plant in common and that for this reason the *repartimiento* system has not been introduced here. This system would not be practical, because the Indians do not want private property and if they did have it would make no effort to preserve or cultivate it, unless compelled to do so by the missionary. In this country there are but very few springs and it frequently happens that for many consecutive years there is only a slight fall of rain. Some years, on the other hand, the rain comes down in such torrents that the rivers overflow their banks, destroy the dams, flood the fields and work such havoc that it is almost impossible to repair

<sup>9</sup> The viceroy describes conditions as he found them at the end of the century.

the damage. The five missions lately founded by the Dominicans look promising, however, because they are situated farther north and in territory more fertile and arable.

The missions have deteriorated since the departure of the Jesuits. This is due, first of all, to the fact that those religious were able to maintain and develop the missions with the numerous alms which they received; secondly, to the fact that only zealous and active religious were kept at these missions; thirdly, to the fact that after the expulsion of the Jesuits there was an increase in venereal disease among the Indians; and, finally, to the fact that when the Jesuits left the country there were no other religious to replace them, with the result that the temporalities were entrusted to incapable and covetous individuals who squandered them completely.

## V

Because of the barrenness of Lower California, the necessity of feeding the neophytes, and the difficulty of transporting food supplies from Mexico, the religious found themselves obliged to solicit funds for the establishment and upkeep of the missions. The Spanish government, engaged in costly, and as far as Mexico was concerned, fruitless wars against various European powers, failed to authorize new foundations or to pay even the insignificant sum which had been appropriated for those already in existence. These practical objections, advanced by the viceroy and by the Jesuit provincial, were met by the zealous Salvatierra. At his request generous benefactors pledged themselves to support the missions for the glory of God and for their own spiritual good. Thus did Father Salvatierra render an important service to the Church in New Spain, not only by having secured funds for such a worthy cause, but also by having interested laymen in a work so serviceable and so commendable in Christian nations. Because of their generous donations to the missions of Lower California, Don Juan de Caballero y Osio, Doña María de Borja, the Luyando family, the members of the Dolores Society of Guadalajara, Don Juan de la Sierpe, who was an auditor of this same city, Don Juan Altamirano, Doña Teresa Cifuentes of Mexico City, the Marquis of Villapiente, and many other pious persons will always be deserving of the gratitude, not only of the California Jesuits, but of the universal Church. The Marquis of Villapiente, a man who acquired great wealth in Mexico and who always gave most liberally to these missions, is worthy of special mention. The following data with regard to this noted benefactor are taken from the well-known report of Father Alegre:

It can be said in all truth that during his lifetime there was no charitable cause to which the Marquis of Villapiente did not contribute most gladly; he thanked God for having given him an opportunity to be of help to the poor and always showed great interest in their spiritual and corporal welfare. He was extremely generous to the missions, and for this reason has always been regarded as the apostle of many peoples and nations that, as a result of his liberality and zeal, have been freed from the darkness of paganism and sin.

At various times he sent to Africa large sums for the ransom of captives and founded in Algiers a Franciscan hospice for their corporal and spiritual relief. His charity extended to Asia, where at great personal sacrifice he succeeded in assisting innumerable Christians who, because of their faith, were being persecuted in certain parts of India, Japan and China. He sent to these countries more than 100,000 *pesos* for the support of the missionaries and catechists and for the upkeep of the churches. In Macao he erected a foundling hospital to take care of the children exposed on the streets each morning by the uncivilized and poverty-stricken people of that country. For the purpose of supporting catechists he sent considerable sums to Travancor, Ternate, Maduré and Coromandel, and in these places maintained flourishing missions, which without this assistance would long since have been abandoned because of the hostile attitude of the pagan inhabitants of those regions.

In the Philippines he established a garrison, composed of Boholano Indians, in order to ward off the invasions of the Moors, who had been endeavoring to check the spread of Christianity. In the East Indies he built the church of Pondichieri [Pondicherry], and sent to Jerusalem a large sum of money to beautify the Holy Places and assure the safety of pious pilgrims.

In America, besides giving daily alms to the poor and needy, dowries to virtuous maidens and large sums for chaplaincies and various pious works, he donated 800,000 *pesos* to the Discalced Franciscans for their convent of San José in Tacubaya and contributed more than 200,000 *pesos* for the maintenance of the missions, the building of boats and other worthy causes in California. In Pimeria he established the missions of Busanic and Sonoidac and, from motives of piety, changed the name of the San Marcelo mission to that of San Miguel. He contributed 1000 *pesos* toward the founding of the House of the Exercises of Saint Ignatius in Mexico City and also gave large sums to the missions of Nayarit, Monqui and New Mexico.

In Europe he defrayed the expenses connected with the process of Beatification of Venerable Luis de la Puente, rebuilt and endowed Santander College, started a college for missionaries in the kingdom of Navarre, and paid for the erection and decoration of the college and church of the Cave of Manresa, scene of the penance of our founder, Saint Ignatius, and cradle of the Society. He equipped and placed at the disposal of Philip V a regiment of 560 men and for almost a year and a half paid all expenses connected therewith. In recognition of this service His Majesty offered him the viceroyship of Mexico, an honor which the Marquis refused, preferring before all else his peace of conscience. In fulfillment of a vow not to shave until he had adored the



Holy House of Nazareth, in his old age and dressed in coarse garments, he made a pilgrimage from Mexico to the city of Loreto. During the journey he distributed innumerable alms and, having arrived at the Holy House, made costly offerings to Our Blessed Mother. From Loreto he went to Rome, and in the Church of Jesús made the Exercises of Saint Ignatius. Upon his return to Spain he stopped in Zaragoza, and there enriched the church and image of Our Lady of Pilar with costly jewels. In Madrid he sought lodging in the imperial college of the Jesuit Fathers, and while there asked to be admitted into the Society, having given his cloak as an alms three days previously. Finally, having with great devotion and to the edification of the entire court pronounced the religious vows, he expired on February 13, 1739.<sup>10</sup>

The following clauses taken from Villapiente's will, which is preserved in the Archives of the Indies, show what the Marquis left to the California missions:

It is my request that after the death of my cousin Doña Gertrudis de la Peña, marchioness of Las Torres, and after all else has been executed as stipulated in this will, my estates of Santiago de Tlautla and San Luis de las Peras, or San Luis Michimaloya, with all the ranches and lands with just title pertaining thereto, and all the mules, horses, cattle and farm implements on those estates, as well as the lands, animals and other properties that justly belong to me in the jurisdiction of Guadalcázar, Palmillas, Tula, Monte Alberne, Jaumabe and other places cited in this will and in other legal documents which I have in my possession, shall pass, in whatever state they may be, to the California missions. After expenses entailed in preserving these goods be deducted the annual income from these properties shall be used in assisting new missions, or in establishing in the said California a college from which priests may be sent to take care of places in need of their ministrations or to replace missionaries who have grown old, or who have become incapacitated as a result of labors which, though glorious and praiseworthy, are arduous and enervating. *I ask and beseech the reverend superiors to apply the said revenues for whichever of these two purposes they see fit and consider best for the service of God, and I beg them not to forget me in their Masses and prayers.*

These large donations and the income from the same constituted the capital known, even to this present day, as the Pious Funds of California. At first these funds were administered exclusively by the Jesuits, a special procurator, who resided at the College of San Andrés in Mexico City, being appointed for this purpose. After the Society had been suppressed they were placed in the same category as other goods which, under the name "temporalities," were administered by detestable and unprincipled officials of the Crown. During the administration of

<sup>10</sup> Austráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, VII, pp. 242-244.

these officials the Pious Funds diminished considerably, and one year after the expulsion of the Jesuits the Marquis of Croix in his report to the Count of Aranda was able to account for only 135,192 pesos, 4 tomines and 10½ grains. In the year 1782, the administration of the Pious Funds was intrusted to a special board, all the members of which drew large salaries, although the Jesuits had done this service without any remuneration. But, the change of administration brought no results; on the contrary, things went from bad to worse, as is evident from a letter written by the second count of Revillagigedo in 1784.

Royal orders continued to be issued and the number of administrators continued to increase, but the state of the Pious Funds was becoming more and more precarious, as may be seen from the following lines which the Council of the Indies addressed to Viceroy Branciforte in 1795:

From your letter of June 30th and from the statistical tables which accompanied this letter the King has learned that, as a result of maladministration on the part of the fiscal authorities, the Pious Funds are at present suffering a notable decrease. In the said letter you have stated that the only possible way of remedying the situation is to entrust the administration of these funds to an intelligent, upright and responsible person, who may watch over the said properties in order that such a pious work may not fail. . . . Your action in this matter must, however, be governed by what His Majesty, after studying the matter closely, may decide with regard to the transfer of these properties and the investment of the funds derived from the sale thereof.<sup>11</sup>

During the presidency of Porfirio Diaz the United States laid claim to the Pious Funds, which had previously been confiscated by the Liberals. The matter was submitted to arbitration, and a decision condemning Mexico's action with respect to these funds was rendered [in 1902] by the International Tribunal of the Hague.\*

MARIANO CUEVAS

<sup>11</sup> A. G. I., 97-4-5.

\* For an account of the Hague settlement of the question of the Pious Funds, cf. McGroarty, *California, Its History and Romance*, 1911, p. 323 et seq.



## THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF OUR PRESIDENTIAL ASSASSINS. I.

The *Congressional Record of the United States* under date of February 21, 1927, contains the following words:

It was a Roman Catholic that shot Roosevelt in the 1912 presidential campaign. Taft was a candidate. Taft had appointed to the Supreme Bench, as Chief Justice, an able man from the South, a Roman Catholic. He had appointed him Chief Justice of the United States and had greatly pleased the Roman Catholics; Taft was a candidate for reelection, and Roosevelt was a formidable candidate, and the bullet of a Roman Catholic gun brought him down, but it did not kill him. Roosevelt had offended the Roman Catholic hierarchy. He told Archie Butt, who was associated with him at the White House, that the Roman Catholic Church was out of place in the United States, that it could not grow here; that it was not in harmony with American institutions; that it could grow only by immigration; and in the campaign against Taft he paid for his utterance by being shot by a Roman Catholic.

Some of the citizens of the State of Maryland have pledged me that if I was assassinated a number of Roman Catholic priests would cease to live, and that the "political higher ups" of the Roman Catholic faith would be attended to first . . .

In view of the fact that a Roman Catholic tried to kill ex-President Roosevelt and that three presidents of the United States have been killed by Roman Catholics I am going to make this statement on the floor of the Senate: if anything happens to me, I want what has been written to me from Alabama, Maryland, Texas, and South Carolina to be carried out.

The author of this very remarkable speech was Senator J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama, speaking in the second session of the sixty-ninth Congress. Since these words are now incorporated in the *Congressional Record*, and at some future time may be accepted at their face value, they merit thoughtful consideration.

Senator Heflin has enrolled three presidential assassins in the Catholic Church; and he has implied that an attempt on the life of ex-President Roosevelt was the result of animosity toward Mr. Roosevelt on the part of the Catholic Church.

In order that the truth may be known, an attempt is made in the following study to ascertain the religious affiliations of Booth, of Guiteau, and of Czolgosz; and to determine whether or not religion was a motivating factor in John Schrank's crime.

A brief account of the assassin's crime, trial and punishment is followed in each instance by a more detailed record of his character and church connections. The conclusion in each case is based on well-established facts, and is obviously in conform-

ity with the truth. These conclusions do not agree with the statements entered in the *Congressional Record* from the speech of Senator Heflin.

## I

"Glory, hallelujah! Richmond ours!" The two words told the success of a four years' mighty struggle at arms, doubly confirmed the speedy downfall of the rebellion and promised peace to a torn and bleeding country. No wonder the people of Washington were wild with excitement; no wonder the high and the low, the rich and the poor, gave themselves up to a delirium of joy. The end is nigh and the light cometh.

My poor pen cannot do justice to the scenes of yesterday following the announcement of the great victory. It was a grand patriotic jubilee; an outpouring of joyous exultations; the almost incoherent and frantic demonstrations of a people well-nigh crazed with good news, and there were dangerous symptoms of universal hysterics . . .

There's a strange affinity between patriotism and whiskey. I do not believe I am beyond the mark when I state there were five thousand drunken men to be seen on Pennsylvania Avenue yesterday.<sup>1</sup>

There was a "grand military parade," a "salute of nine hundred guns," and the next night "the Grand Illumination" when

The Capitol shone resplendently in five tiers of bright lights from basement to cupola; and the entire front of the eastern portico was decorated with a large transparency bearing the inscription, "This is the Lord's doing: it is marvellous in our eyes."

The candle-makers grew rich with the unprecedented sale of candles—for every dwelling burned them in the windows. The atmosphere of Washington was not soothing to a highly excitable young man of strong Southern sympathies, whose daring plan to kidnap the President had recently failed.

On April 9th, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, and on April 10th, Lincoln returned to Washington from the seat of war. The city was beside itself with excitement and joy at the now certain end of the strife. On the evening of April 11, 1865, the jubilant masses surged as with a single impulse to the Executive Mansion and clamored for a speech. They wanted to see the President, to attest their respect and affection, to rejoice with him, to witness his relief and his joy in the termination of the trials to which he had been subjected in the Nation's behalf.<sup>2</sup>

President Lincoln yielded to the clamor and spoke to the crowd. John Wilkes Booth, bitter with disappointment (which he tried to drown in liquor), and with no appreciation of Lin-

<sup>1</sup> The *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, April 8, 1865. Despatch dated April 4 from the Washington correspondent.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth*, p. 78.

coln's magnanimous plans for the South, was incensed at the declaration—"It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were conferred on the very intelligent and on those who serve our country as soldiers." John Wilkes Booth had assisted in the hanging of John Brown. It is supposed that these words of Lincoln determined Booth to assassinate him.<sup>3</sup> "His mind, constantly stimulated with drink, taken with the thought of deadening chagrin and disappointment, or spurring him on to the deed, took on an exaggeration of inherited imbalance. It completely lost its equilibrium. He was ready, recklessly eager, for any step, however wild and terrible, that, as a last resort, might help the fast-fading cause of the South, if the opportunity would only occur."<sup>4</sup>

At noon on Good Friday, April 14, Booth learned of the President's proposed visit to Ford's Theatre. This was his opportunity. In the few hours that elapsed between noon and the dreadful deed he completed his arrangements with a perfection of detail which bespoke the trained actor accustomed to a carefully set stage and particular that all the necessary "properties" should be at hand.

At exactly ten o'clock he entered the President's box, shot him, leapt to the stage before the dumbfounded audience, and made his escape. President Lincoln never recovered consciousness.

After searching parties had scoured the country for over two weeks, Booth was at last found near Bowling Green, Virginia, badly crippled by the leg he had broken in his leap to the stage. He was sleeping in a barn on the Garrett farm. He refused to surrender to the soldiers who had been sent to capture him, and the barn was set afire to make him come out. Orders had been given to take Booth alive, but one of the group, Sergeant Boston Corbett, shot at him through a crack in the wall and wounded him fatally.

He died four hours later on the porch of the Garrett house. His body was buried secretly in the prison yard at Washington, and four years later given to his family.

"He was a man of polished exterior, pleasing address, highly respectable in every regard, received into the best circles of society; his company sought after; exceedingly bold, courteous,

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth*, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

and considered generous to a fault; a warm and liberal-hearted friend, a man who had obtained a reputation upon the stage."<sup>5</sup>

About a year and a half before he assassinated President Lincoln, Booth played with Ben. De Bar at the St. Louis Theatre where "he was acknowledged a rising actor of great merit—worthy to be the son of the distinguished Booth." "He is a young man of unassuming deportment, and quiet, retiring manners; a hard student of his profession, and meddling with nothing beyond it."<sup>6</sup> This was the impression he made upon those who met him casually in St. Louis at that time.

Among his associates he was extremely popular. He was young, handsome, high-spirited. He had had some success on the stage and a bright career was predicted for him. Mr. Ford many times paid the young actor as much as seven hundred dollars a week. Mr. Ellsler, in whose company he often played, said of him in comparison with his famous brother Edwin: "John has more of the old man's power in one performance than Edwin can show in a year. He has the fire, the dash, the touch of strangeness."<sup>7</sup>

Many anecdotes of his high spirits and winning personality are told: "At depot restaurants those fiercely unwilling maiden slammers of the plates and shooters of coffee cups made to him swift and gentle offerings of hot steaks, hot biscuits, hot coffee."<sup>8</sup> What stronger tribute could be paid to his magnetism?

"John Wilkes Booth was of the theatre, theatric. He lived in a time when tragedy and melodrama were highly in the ascendant."<sup>9</sup> By some strange distortion of his mind he thought he was doing a heroic act in killing the President. If some member of the audience had shot him as he crossed the stage after killing Lincoln, he would doubtless have gloried in his death as a patriot. As it happened, he had time to think as he lay in hiding after his escape, and his bitter awakening is shown in some of the entries in his diary: "I am sure there is no pardon in heaven for me since man condemns me so."<sup>10</sup> His

<sup>5</sup> Speech of Joseph H. Bradley, Counsel for the Defense in the Trial of John H. Surratt, quoted in Wilson, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> The *Missouri Republican*, April 16, 1885.

<sup>7</sup> Clara Morris, "Some Recollections of John Wilkes Booth," *McClure's*, Feb., 1901.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>10</sup> *Trial of John Surratt*, 1867, p. 310.

last message was for his mother, "Tell Mother that I die for my country."<sup>11</sup>

Junius Brutus Booth, the famous and eccentric actor who was the father of John Wilkes, "was not a sectarian, but made many creeds his study."<sup>12</sup>

All forms of religion and all temples of devotion were sacred to him, and he never failed to bare his head reverently when passing a church. He worshipped at many shrines; he admired the Koran, and in his copy of that volume many beautiful passages are underscored . . . In the synagogues he was known as a Jew, because he conversed with rabbis and learned doctors, and joined their worship in the Hebraic tongue. He read the Talmud, also, and strictly adhered to many of its laws.

Several fathers of the Roman Catholic Church recount pleasant hours spent with him in theological discourse . . . Of the numerous houses of worship to which he went, the one he most loved to frequent was a floating church or "Sailor's Bethel." The congregation was of the humblest kind, and the ministry not at all edifying. The writer remembers kneeling through a lengthy impromptu prayer, which contained no spirit of piety to her childish ears; but looking around wearily at her father, she beheld his face so earnestly inspired with devotion, that she felt rebuked, and it became pleasant to attend to that which was so devoid of interest before . . . His reverence for religion was universal and deep-rooted.<sup>13</sup>

John Wilkes Booth's father was affiliated with no church, then, although he was a religiously inclined man.

As far as can be ascertained, the other members of the Booth family belonged to the Episcopal Church. John Wilkes Booth was in all likelihood a member of that church, since the Episcopal funeral service was read at his reburial in the family lot in Baltimore. Under date of July 10, 1869, the following account appears:<sup>14</sup>

The remains of John Wilkes Booth were on June 27th buried in Greenmount Cemetery with religious ceremonies . . . An assistant at Christ Church read the funeral services of the Episcopal Church.

Edwin Booth repeatedly appealed to the government for the body of his brother. The third of these appeals follows:

New York, February 10, 1869.

Andrew Johnson, Esq.  
President of the United States  
Dear Sir:

May I not now ask your kind consideration of my poor mother's request in relation to her son's remains?

<sup>11</sup> Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth*, p. 216.

<sup>12</sup> Clarke, Asia Booth, *The Elder and the Younger Booth*, p. 115.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

<sup>14</sup> *The New York Tablet*, July 10, 1869, p. 7.



The bearer of this (Mr. John Weaver) is sexton of Christ's Church, Baltimore, who will observe the strictest secrecy in this matter—and you may rest assured that none of my family desires its publicity.

Unable to visit Washington, I have deputed Mr. Weaver—in whom I have the fullest confidence—and I beg that you will not delay in ordering the body to be given to his care. He will retain it (placing it in his vault) until such time as we can remove the other members of our family to the Baltimore Cemetery, and thus prevent any special notice of it.<sup>15</sup>

There is also (I am told) a trunk of his at the National Hotel—which I once applied for, but was refused—it being under the seal of the War Department—it may contain relics of the poor misguided boy, which would be dear to his sorrowing mother, and of no use to any one.

Your Excellency would greatly lessen the crushing weight of grief that is hurrying my mother to the grave by giving immediate orders for the safe delivery of the body to Mr. Weaver, and gain the lasting gratitude of

Your obedient Servt.

Edwin Booth.<sup>16</sup>

The release follows:

Executive Mansion

February 15, 1869

The Honorable the Secretary of War will cause to be delivered to Mr. John Weaver, Sexton of Christ Church, Baltimore, the remains of John Wilkes Booth, for the purposes mentioned in the within communication.

Andrew Johnson<sup>17</sup>

The body was identified by members of the family, and "the poor misguided boy" was buried, as soon as was feasible, in the east corner of the family lot in Greenmount Cemetery.

Religious motives need not be sought in the crime of John Wilkes Booth. His was the act of a fanatical patriot and needs no other explanation. He asked for no spiritual consolation when he was dying, although he lived for four hours after he was wounded. He was simply carried away by the passions of the civil war and killed a great, good man, whose loss was disastrous for the South Booth madly thought he was serving.

John Wilkes Booth the actor, the would-be patriot, was the assassin of Lincoln—not John Wilkes Booth, a member of the Episcopal Church.

<sup>15</sup> The members of the family who had died before this time had been buried in the private burial ground at the Booth farm.

<sup>16</sup> Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth*, p. 287.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288.

## II

Early in the morning of July 2, 1881, President Garfield left the White House on a holiday expedition. After a pleasant drive to the depot with Mr. Blaine, his secretary of state, the president started across the waiting room toward the train which would bring him to the reunion of alumni at Williams College. A few seconds later he pitched to the floor with two bullets in his body, and the nation was horrified to learn that the chief executive was the victim of an assassin. As the president lingered on in horrible suffering for months, and finally died from the effects of his wounds, public indignation against the murderer grew apace, and his conviction after a remarkable trial, and his subsequent execution, occasioned outbursts of enthusiastic approval throughout the country.

The trend of public opinion concerning the assassin, Charles Guiteau, during the period of almost a year between his crime and his execution is reflected in the editorial sections of the daily newspapers.<sup>18</sup> At first, when the chances for Garfield's recovery were considered good, the papers (with some few exceptions) refer to Guiteau as demented or insane. Then the president died, and Guiteau's trial commenced. Soon editorials speak of "Guiteau's antics for the benefit of the jury" and pronounce him "sane enough to be hanged."<sup>19</sup> This is the verdict of the press before the long trial has gone into its second week, and the decision is at no time reversed.

Guiteau was treated with the utmost leniency during the trial. He was allowed to have the newspapers, read his mail, and receive visitors. He sat at the table with his counsel instead of in the dock—this, however, was not to please him so much as to give the jury a chance to observe him and form their opinion as to his sanity. His conduct was eccentric throughout the trial. He constantly interrupted the proceedings, and roundly abused the prosecuting attorney and his own counsel as the occasion arose. The plea of the defense was insanity—and nothing made Guiteau more angry than the fear that people would think him insane. He declared again and again that he was inspired to "remove" the president, and that therefore the Deity and not he had pulled the trigger. He re-

<sup>18</sup> Editorials in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, the *Republican*, *St. Louis*; and the *New York Tribune*.

<sup>19</sup> The *Republican*, *St. Louis*, July 1, 1882.



peated the story of his "inspiration" at every possible opportunity, and clung tenaciously to it even on the scaffold. He died predicting the vengeance of Heaven on all who had been concerned in his conviction. He declared, and apparently believed, that he would go straight to "glory."

Many persons did not credit Guiteau with sincerity in any of his statements, but believed him thoroughly vicious and endowed with more than average intelligence which prompted him cleverly to feign insanity on one subject. There is some justification for this view. The prisoner's shrewdness in taking advantage of legal points in his favor, and his excellent memory were conspicuous throughout the trial. He apparently knew the law well and was capable of interpreting it to his own advantage. It was remarked, also, that his noisiest demonstrations and attempts at speechmaking always took place when the evidence seemed to be going against him.

The trial brought out little to Guiteau's credit in his past life. Shortly after his arrest, Guiteau explained himself thus: "His death was a political necessity . . . I am a lawyer, a theologian and a politician, and I am a stalwart of the stalwarts."<sup>20</sup> His career was a record of failures in each of these callings. He had never had clients enough to support himself by practicing law and had eked out a poor income by collecting bills on percentage. As a "theologian" he had attempted to lecture on various subjects, and the audiences had either laughed at him or left the hall. He had exerted himself in the last political campaign before Garfield's election in the expectation of a government appointment which was not forthcoming. Then, as a "stalwart of the stalwarts" he shot Garfield, and found that the stalwart leaders were loudest of all in condemning his act. He was a miserable failure, yet he elicited none of the sympathy which so often is showered on failures. He could not be exculpated on the ground of youthful impetuosity. He was over forty, and had neither charm of manner nor beauty of appearance to recommend him. He was inordinately vain, and seemed to enjoy the notoriety the trial brought to him. Besides, his record was full of petty, unlovely episodes. He had borrowed money constantly from all his acquaintances, and usually failed to return it. He was known to the Hotel Keepers Association as a "deadbeat," and landladies in the various cities where he

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<sup>20</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, July 4, 1881.

had lived were still patiently awaiting their payment. His wife had divorced him for immorality six years before he shot the president.

Judge Cox, who presided at Guiteau's trial, prefaced his pronouncement of the sentence of death with these words:

Your own testimony shows that you recoiled with horror from the idea. You say that you prayed against it; you say that you thought it might be prevented—this shows that your conscience warned you against it, but by the wretched sophistry of your mind you worked yourself up against the protest of your own conscience. What motive could have induced you to this act must be a matter of conjecture. Probably men will think that some fanaticism or morbid desire for self-exaltation was the real inspiration for the act. Your own testimony seems to contravert the theories of your counsel. They have maintained and thought, honestly I believe, that you were driven against your will by an insane impulse. The testimony showed that you deliberately resolved to do it, and that a deliberate and misguided will was the sole impulse. This may seem insanity to some persons, but the law looks upon it as a wilful crime.<sup>21</sup>

Judge Cox's treatment of Guiteau during the tiresome trial had been so considerate as to call forth censure from many quarters, especially from Judge Porter of the prosecution. In conducting the case, both sides had been treated with equal fairness by the judge; so that his words after the jury had brought in their verdict are significant as the decision of one who observed all the proceedings of the trial.

On June 30th, 1882, Charles Guiteau was hanged. His body was buried in the jail at Washington. His will was made on June 29th:

To Rev. W. W. Hicks:

I, Charles J. Guiteau of the city of Washington in the District of Columbia, now under sentence of death, which is to be carried into effect between the hours of twelve and two o'clock on the 30th day of June, A. D., 1882, in the United States jail in said district, do hereby give and grant you my body after such execution, provided however, it shall not be used for any mercenary purposes; and I hereby for good and sufficient considerations give, deliver and transfer to said Hicks my book entitled "The Truth and Removal" and the copyright thereof to be used by him in writing a truthful history of my life and execution and I direct that such history be entitled "The Life and Work of Charles Guiteau": and I hereby solemnly proclaim and announce to all the world that no person or persons shall ever in any manner use my body for any mercenary purposes whatever, and if at any time hereafter any person or persons shall desire to honor my remains, they shall do it by erecting a monument

<sup>21</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, Feb. 4, 1882.

whereon shall be inscribed these words: "Here lies the body of Charles Guiteau, patriot and Christian; his soul is in glory."

(Signed) Charles Guiteau.<sup>22</sup>

Witnesses Charles H. Reed

James Woodward

The Rev. W. W. Hicks to whom the document is addressed was Rev. Dr. Hicks, pastor of the Tabernacle in Washington, who acted as Guiteau's spiritual adviser during the last few weeks of his life, and accompanied him to the scaffold. After the execution he removed the prisoner's personal effects from his cell, but seems to have made no subsequent use of them.

The *New York Tribune* for Nov. 23, 1881, gives a complete account of the opening speech for the defense in Guiteau's trial. The speaker was George Scoville, Guiteau's brother-in-law, a lawyer of Chicago. After some preliminary remarks,

Mr. Scoville proceeded to give a sketch of the Guiteau family and its peculiarities, as bearing on the question of insanity. The family was of Huguenot descent, imbued with the same intense religious spirit which led half a million of the best people of France to leave their homes and possessions and go out destitute into foreign lands. The prisoner's grandfather was a physician who settled in Utica, New York, over ninety years ago. Dr. F. Guiteau . . . had ten children and their very names would show this religious tendency. They were named Abraham, Luther (the prisoner's father), Martin (dividing Luther's name between the two sons), and Calvin.<sup>23</sup>

Charles Guiteau's mother died when he was eight years old. His father, according to Mr. Scoville, was a "monomaniac on religious subjects" but a respected citizen and an honest, faithful man of business. Luther Guiteau had been at one time sincerely in favor of the Oneida communities, in one of which Charles lived from the time he was twenty until he was twenty-two. Mr. Scoville stated that Luther Guiteau had not been a member of any church continuously. He changed from one to another as he grew dissatisfied; doctrine or management in each church displeased him. At this point the prisoner interjected: "That's right: he was a church unto himself."

Mr. Harry C. Guiteau of St. Louis, a cousin of Charles Guiteau, was interviewed on July 5, 1881, by a *Republican* reporter.<sup>24</sup> He said that his father, Calvin Guiteau, was a brother of Luther W. Guiteau, the father of the assassin. Harry C.

<sup>22</sup> The *Republican*, St. Louis, June 30, 1882.

<sup>23</sup> The *New York Tribune*, Nov. 23, 1881, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> The *Republican*, St. Louis, July 5, 1881.

Guiteau was raised at Watertown, New York. Charles, his cousin who shot the president, was raised at Freeport, Illinois. The cousins had never met except possibly when they were young children. Mr. Harry Guiteau was well acquainted with the father, stepmother, brother and sister of the would-be assassin, however, and had attended his uncle's funeral in February, 1881. Mr. Guiteau said he knew that his cousin was possessed of peculiarities, and while the family had mentioned them, it always appeared an unpleasant subject, especially to his father. He stated that Charles, from an early time, had possessed peculiar religious beliefs, and was continually wanting to lecture and engage in speechmaking, but was never encouraged by his father, who had spent considerable money in attempting to get him located permanently in some good place. According to Mr. Harry Guiteau, Charles had had an excellent home and careful moral training.<sup>25</sup>

Testimony during the trial indicated that the prisoner's father had been a respected citizen of Freeport, cashier of the Second National Bank there for more than twenty years. Concerning his church affiliations, Thomas North of Chicago, formerly of Freeport, stated that "Luther Guiteau attended church occasionally, sometimes the Presbyterian Church, sometimes the Methodist Church."<sup>26</sup> The defense attempted to prove that he had been a religious fanatic, but such evidence as was presented on this score was counterbalanced by testimony brought forward by the prosecution.

A definite, continuous connection with any church on the part of Luther Guiteau, the assassin's father, was not brought out by either side in the trial.

The assassin was affiliated with many different religious sects at various times in his life. He called himself simply "a Christian." After his arrest District Attorney Corkhill spent a great deal of time talking with him in order to get his story. He said:

Guiteau looks upon himself as God's instrument. He never tires of saying that he is a Christian; that he believes in the church and the Young Men's Christian Association.<sup>27</sup>

As to the various sects with which Guiteau was connected, when he was about twenty years old he became a member of

<sup>25</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, July 5, 1881.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1881.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, July 8, 1881.



the Oneida Community in New York. He wrote a speech which he wished to deliver at the opening of his trial in which he says:

During my residence at the Oneida Community I, like most men of the concern, was practically a Shaker. . . . I lingered there in the greatest misery and distress for six long and weary years. I was in the community from 1860 to 1866. Since then I have known and cared nothing for them.<sup>28</sup>

When he was on the witness stand Guiteau said that he had not believed in any religion until his conversion, which was in 1859 when he came under the influence of Beecher and the Young Men's Christian Association.<sup>29</sup>

For a period of two years about twelve years before the assassination, Guiteau was a member of the Plymouth Church in New York. He also belonged to the Plymouth Bible classes at that time, according to Mr. Alvin Hill, who taught the class.<sup>30</sup>

In a sermon delivered the day after Garfield's assassination, Rev. R. S. MacArthur, pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church on Twenty-third Street in New York, alluded to Guiteau's membership in that church. He had been admitted on presenting a letter from a Jersey City Baptist Church. In 1874 he was expelled from church membership for misconduct. This was shortly after his wife had obtained her divorce.<sup>31</sup> Another account of this incident follows:

In the fall of 1873, when the divorce proceedings were in progress and while Guiteau was carrying on his liaison with Clara Jennings, he was frequenting the rooms of the New York Young Men's Christian Association, and his name is on the books of that institution as a visitor, and was a member of the Calvary Baptist Church and attended the religious services of that church. After the divorce was granted, Guiteau was cited to appear before the committee on discipline of the church, and when he appeared he confessed his immoralities and professed penitence, but the committee had no faith in his professions and expelled him from the church.<sup>32</sup>

Concerning his church activities in Chicago, Guiteau says:

In October, 1876, I was in Chicago during the Sankey and Moody meetings. I attended prayer meetings and services regularly, day and night, during the three months Moody and Sankey were there, from October to January. During all that time I was with Moody and bore

<sup>28</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, Nov. 15, 1881.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1881.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1881.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, July 4, 1881.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, July 29, 1881.

an active part. I was usher and helped around in a general way; spoke at prayer-meetings frequently.<sup>33</sup>

It was during this period, Guiteau said, he decided that Christ's second coming took place at the destruction of Jerusalem in the clouds directly over Jerusalem and that all the churches are in error in expecting His second coming in the future. This idea had apparently become a conviction with him. He referred to it several times during his trial and it had been the subject of some of his lectures. About two years before he shot Garfield he visited Washington and lectured in Lincoln Hall on Second Day Adventism "in which at the time he professed to believe."<sup>34</sup>

The lectures of Guiteau were not in the least successful. A dispatch from Chicago the day after the assassination states: " . . . He started in here as a lawyer, but failed utterly and tried to lift himself into notoriety by lecturing on religion one evening in each week . . . He failed also as a lecturer, and then began life as a tramp of the more respectable order."<sup>35</sup>

Mr. Harrold Simmons, a lawyer of Milwaukee, said in an interview on July 3, 1881:

I was quite well acquainted with Guiteau . . . During the winter of 1878-79 he had a desk in my office in this city, and attempted to practice law here. He had but little business, and seemed very poor. I used to regard him as a little insane. He had some theory in regard to the exoteric meaning of the Bible, and claimed that it was not generally understood aright. Sometimes he would sit whole days in the office and read the Bible. When I entered the office I sometimes found him on his knees in prayer. He also published some pamphlets on religious subjects which were kept for sale at the book-stands. He was a good deal in the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association and took part in the weekly prayer meetings there. I regarded him as a harmless fellow, but very eccentric.<sup>36</sup>

Guiteau attempted to lecture on temperance, and on eternal damnation. He applied to clergymen in Springfield, Massachusetts, for permission "to lecture on temperance and in reply to Bob Ingersoll . . . He is also author of an incoherent pamphlet in reply to Ingersoll, in which he quotes Dr. John Hall, Juston Fulton and other divines, in favor of hell fire and eternal dam-

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<sup>33</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, Nov. 30, 1881.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, July 3, 1881.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, July 4, 1881.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, July 4, 1881.

nation."<sup>37</sup> These lectures and pamphlets did not net him any money because (he said during his trial) "people will pay fifty cents to hear there is no hell—but not one penny to hear that there is one."

Guiteau was in Boston the winter of 1879-80. Concerning him at this time Rev. H. C. Dunham, assistant secretary of the American Peace Society, in whose office Guiteau had a desk, says:

I conversed with him almost daily for months in his various moods and learned much of his history. He proved to be a worthless fellow, dishonest and unreasonable. In religion a fanatic of the worst type; but I never considered him insane or bordering on insanity.<sup>38</sup>

An abnormal desire to engage in religious discussion was one of Guiteau's most pronounced traits. He was considered a religious crank by some, "a lunatic on the subject of religion" by others.<sup>39</sup> The mother of his divorced wife said that Guiteau had never displayed any settled ambition other than his wild passion for declaiming on religious topics.<sup>40</sup> Dr. John Withrow of the Park Street Church in Boston, who was one of the witnesses at the trial, said that Guiteau generally took part in discussions upon whatever subject was up in the meetings of the church.<sup>41</sup> Reference to his constant attempts to lecture on religious subjects has already been made.

During his imprisonment Guiteau's religious eccentricity was remarked by visitors. "He appears to be a religious fanatic, a sanctificationist," said Colonel S. H. Russell, United States Marshall of the Western District of Texas, who saw the prisoner in October and talked to him.<sup>42</sup> Mr. Jeff Chandler, described in the *Republican* as "the well-known criminal lawyer of St. Louis," considered Guiteau insane, "a religious monomaniac."<sup>43</sup>

Several times during the trial Guiteau wrote speeches which were printed in the newspapers. The following excerpt from one of these speeches is a fair sample of his fondness for scriptural language in denouncing his enemies. After declaring that he was inspired to shoot Garfield and therefore was obliged to do it, he continues: "If I had been president and wrecked the

<sup>37</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, July 3, 1881.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, July 7, 1881.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, July 3, 1881.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, July 9, 1881.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1881.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1881.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1881.



Republican party as Garfield did, I say I ought to have been shot; and posterity will say so whatever this perverse and crooked generation may say. Ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell."<sup>44</sup>

Guiteau's conduct on the scaffold was in complete harmony with his reputation for religious speechmaking. After Rev. Dr. Hicks of the Washington Tabernacle had given the invocation, Guiteau, in a loud, firm voice read from the Gospel of St. Matthew, tenth chapter, verses twenty-eight to forty-one. He next read a prayer composed by himself reiterating his "inspiration" and predicting disaster for the nation. Finally he sang a song he had made for the special purpose about "glory" and "going to the Lord."<sup>45</sup> That was the end; he seemed convinced that he was dying the death of a patriot and a martyr. He had shown himself a physical coward on many occasions during his imprisonment. In the face of death he was calm. The prison physician who visited him before the execution found him in excellent health and apparently entirely free from mental disturbance.<sup>46</sup>

Guiteau was affiliated with many religious groups during his life. It would be utter folly to connect the name of any one of them with his unhappy story. He drifted from one church to another, never remaining long in any one congregation. For the most part, he interpreted the Bible for himself and preferred the large "revival" type of prayer meeting rather than the services of any particular church. After he was sentenced to death, he expressed no desire to see a clergyman, although he spent much time in reading his Bible. About two weeks before the execution Mr. Reed, who acted as Guiteau's counsel after Mr. Scoville gave up the case, in commenting on his client's condition, said:

Only a few days ago when hope had almost expired, I asked him if he wished to have any religious services and consolation. He was willing to converse with a clergyman on religious subjects, but when I suggested the possible need of repentance and preparation he said that he had no need or want for repentance; he had done the will of the Almighty; had he refused to obey that command he would have need to ask for forgiveness; if it was God's will that he be made a martyr for obeying His command it was well, and he should receive his reward hereafter. That

<sup>44</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, Feb. 4, 1882.

<sup>45</sup> *The New York Tribune*, July 1, 1882. Also given in the *Republican*, St. Louis, July 1, 1882.

<sup>46</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, June 30, 1882.

conviction is beyond question a genuine one, and he will take it with him to the gallows.<sup>47</sup>

Rev. Dr. Hicks, pastor of the Washington Tabernacle, thereafter visited Guiteau daily. He had never seen Guiteau before he was admitted to the jail to render him religious advice but had supposed him to be a thoroughly bad man. After several visits he declared that he was "puzzled beyond expression by the man."<sup>48</sup> Guiteau was delighted to engage in religious conversation—in which he always took the leading part. When they prayed together "it almost seemed as though the conditions were reversed and that the pastor was the man who sought the consolation of repentance and forgiveness."<sup>49</sup> Dr. Hicks became convinced that Guiteau sincerely believed that he was "inspired" to shoot the president, and was one of a committee who asked President Arthur for a reprieve in order that Guiteau's sanity might be thoroughly determined. The request was not granted because the authorities considered that this question had been settled by the testimony of experts during the trial.<sup>50</sup>

Guiteau welcomed the visits of Rev. Dr. Hicks, and he trusted him so completely that he willed his body to him, but there is no reason to think that Guiteau was affiliated with Dr. Hicks's church at his death.<sup>51</sup> His relationship to Dr. Hicks was not that of penitent to spiritual father. Guiteau never acknowledged himself at fault, nor did he lean on Dr. Hicks for spiritual consolation. He seemed satisfied with himself and looked on Dr. Hicks as a friend to whom he might talk; he never treated him as a clergyman of whose flock he was a member.

The very multiplicity of Guiteau's religious affiliations makes any attempt to classify him ridiculous. It would be stupidly unjust to hold any of the churches to which he belonged responsible for his actions; and maliciously unjust to prejudice the ignorant against a church with which he was never connected by untruly saying that he was a member of it.

NANCY MCNEIR RING

St. Louis, Mo.

<sup>47</sup> *The New York Tribune*, June 26, 1882.

<sup>48</sup> *The Republican*, St. Louis, June 26, 1882.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, June 28, 1882.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, June 23, 1882. Also the *Nation*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 536.

<sup>51</sup> Guiteau willed his body to Dr. Hicks because he was afraid it was going to be exhibited throughout the country.

## SPANISH INDIAN POLICY IN THE WEST INDIES AND MEXICO

What fiery enthusiasm coupled with unflinching devotion to a noble cause can accomplish is exemplified in the manner in which Bartolomé de Las Casas has caught the imagination of his readers. For almost four hundred years people have shuddered at the hair-raising tales that depict the Spaniard's cruel bullying of an inferior race, a race which in the words of their champion were created "to be quite the simplest, without malice or duplicity, most obedient, most faithful to their natural Lords, and to the Christians, whom they serve; the most humble, most patient, most peaceful, and calm, without strife nor tumults; not wrangling nor querulous, as free from uproar, hate and desire of revenge, as any in the world."<sup>1</sup>

This picture of the natives of Spanish America appears in a work of Las Casas which was published in 1552 under the title (translated from the Spanish), *Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies*.<sup>2</sup> Its success was immediate as proved by its translation into most of the languages of Europe. This "veritable catalogue of horrors" aroused a tempest of indignation against the Spanish colonial policy that has persisted to modern times.

No words are too strong to condemn the exploitation of the Indians on the part of the European nations. But it is unfair to judge sixteenth century events in the light of the twentieth, as it is impossible to arrive at historical truth by reading into the past the spirit of the present.

The fact confronts us that the Spaniards achieved greater notoriety than other nations in their oppression of the natives of the New World. Does Spain deserve this reputation? Or was it due to the fear, hatred, and jealousy that her dazzling power evoked among the nations of Europe? She was at the height of her power when the *Brevisima Relación* was published and the gusto with which this work was pounced upon by her enemies seems to prove that the latter was the case. "Wherever the Spanish name was hated the 'Brief Relation' found a ready sale and a readier credence, and its numerous reprints show that the popular appetite for bloody horrors was fully as great

<sup>1</sup> *Brevisima Relación de la Destrucción de la Indias*, printed in English in Francis A. MacNutt, *Bartholomew de Las Casas*, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> MacNutt, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

then as now."<sup>3</sup> The title of one of the English editions of the seventeenth century speaks for itself:<sup>4</sup>

"Popery Truly Display'd in its Bloody Colours: Or, a Faithful Narrative of the Horrid and Unexampled Massacres, Butcheries, and all manner of Cruelties, that Hell and Malice could invent, committed by the Popish Spanish Party on the Inhabitants of West-India. . . . Composed first in Spanish by Bartholomew de las Casas, a Bishop there, and an Eye-Witness of most of these Barbarous Cruelties; afterwards Translated by him into Latin, then by other hands, into High-Dutch, Low-Dutch, French, and now Taught to speak Modern English. London, 1689."

The historian Edward Gaylord Bourne was one of the first to study impartially the history of Spain in the New World. He in writing of Las Casas's book says that "it was written before the Spaniards had been fifty years in the New World, where their empire lasted three hundred years. Two centuries of philanthropic legislation has been thrown into the background by the flaming words which first gave it impulse. Las Casas was the Lloyd Garrison of Indian rights; but it is as one-sided to depict the Spanish Indian policy primarily from his pages as it would be to write a history of the American negro question exclusively from the files of the 'Liberator.'"<sup>5</sup>

There is no reason not to put faith in Las Casas's writing in its broad outline. The Dominican was undoubtedly a man of steadfast purpose to be admired for an apostolic zeal that brooked no discouragement. But it is well to remember that his was the enthusiasm of a convert. Ordained priest in 1510,<sup>6</sup> Las Casas did not give himself up wholly to the Indian cause until four years later.<sup>7</sup> Though in the meanwhile he did all in his power to allay the sufferings of the Indians, the injustice of their servitude did not occur to him, he himself being a slaveholder. However, once convinced that serfdom was a violation of justice, Las Casas dedicated his life to the abolition of Indian slavery. First of all, he freed his own Indians and then undertook to show others the wickedness of the system. "He formed his determination to preach this crusade in season and out and to henceforth use every weapon in defense of the down-trodden natives."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain*, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> MacNutt, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59-66.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.



That in his indignation, Las Casas was sometimes prone to exaggerate is admitted by Prescott who describes "the good Bishop's arithmetic as coming from the heart rather than from the head."<sup>9</sup> Even a most sympathetic biographer says:

"His description of the mild and friendly character of the natives of the islands was doubtless exact, but when he extends it to include the fierce and warlike tribes of the mainland, his generalisations are seen to be misleading. None of the peoples of Anáhuac could be truthfully described as 'gentle lambs' or as 'humble, submissive, and docile, knowing no evil and neither possessing nor understanding the use of weapons.'"<sup>10</sup>

A much more violent protest against Las Casas's veracity was penned by Father Motolinía, the famous Franciscan, who wrote to the Emperor, Charles V, January 2, 1555. A quotation from it follows:

I no longer know how things are in old Spain, because I left there more than thirty years ago, but many times I have heard friars, servants of God, say that Spaniards, God-fearing Christians, coming from Spain find here more Christianity, more faith, more frequentation of the Holy Sacraments and more charity and alms for every kind of poor than in Spain. And may God pardon Las Casas, who so greatly dishonors and slanders, so terribly insults and affronts, so many communities, the Spanish nation, its Prince, and his councils, together with all those who administer justice in the name of your Majesty in these kingdoms!<sup>11</sup>

Of course this letter must be read with caution, making allowance for the differences then existing between the Franciscan order and that of St. Dominic. In one instance, however, Father Motolinía's vehemence proved to be prophetic: "Why must the Spanish nation and its Prince be slandered by one insolent person, for tomorrow the Indians and other nations will read it!"<sup>12</sup>

Las Casas is not to be judged too harshly because he possessed the defects of his good qualities, which are outstanding. His sincerity can never be doubted; but the baneful influence of his writings is to be deplored. It has kept the historian from giving Spanish achievement its due in "the magnificent if impossible task of lifting a whole race numbering millions into the sphere of European thought, life and religion."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> MacNutt, *op. cit.*, p. 209, citing Prescott.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>11</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 264, citing Fray de Motolinía to Charles V, January 2, 1555.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 196.



That in this task there were made many blunders is not to be wondered at. But to appraise the whole by the criterion of failure on the part of one or many individuals shows a lack of the historical sense. One of Spain's biggest failures, made familiar by the vivid descriptions of Las Casas, was her inability to preserve the aborigines of the West Indies. Undoubtedly, the cruelty of the conquerors was one of the causes of this. But there were others, which if not so apparent were just as deadly. Diseases to which the whites had acquired some immunity carried off great numbers of the Indians. This was especially true in the case of smallpox.<sup>14</sup> It is a strange coincidence that all the islands suffered the same fate, including the Sandwich Islands where there had been no conquest or forced labor.<sup>15</sup>

However severely Spain may be blamed for the extermination of the Indians of the islands, the same indictment cannot be applied to her policy on the mainland where a large proportion of the native stock still exists in more or less civilized states. A colonial policy that has borne such fruits is deserving of impartial investigation. Space permits but a brief summary of the Indian legislation of the Spanish kings which according to Bourne "need not fear comparison with the contemporary legislation of any European country affecting the status of the working-classes."<sup>16</sup>

Soon after the discovery of America Columbus made the suggestion that captives be taken from among the cannibals to pay for the importation of cattle and provisions,<sup>17</sup> a proposal in no way startling, for the slave trade had made economically possible the early Portuguese voyages of exploration to Africa.<sup>18</sup>

In 1495 after the suppression of a native uprising in Española, the system of tribute was imposed, in commutation of which Indian labor was accepted, in the manner in which they served their own chiefs or "caciques."<sup>19</sup> Two years later the cultivated lands of the Indians were entrusted to several Spaniards, and along with the fields went enforced labor of the Indians.<sup>20</sup> This was the beginning of the Encomienda System which was to

<sup>14</sup> Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 211-214.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37-38, citing *Select Letters of Columbus*, 85.

<sup>18</sup> MacNutt, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

<sup>19</sup> Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

spread over all of Spanish America. It grew out of the necessity for food which could be furnished only by the Indians, since the Spanish colonists were not of the laboring class. That it continued to exist for more than two centuries proves that the system was economically sound. "In theory the scheme was benevolent. But human nature is weak, and the tendency of the trustee was to give his attention to exploitation and to neglect his obligations."<sup>21</sup> This was especially true in the beginning. But first of all, let us see what those obligations were, so that we may realize what a prominent place the Indian occupied in Spain's colonial policy. They are contained in the instructions of Queen Isabella to Fray Nicolás de Ovando, appointed royal governor of the Indies in 1501.

The Governor is to take great pains in the teaching of the natives in the Holy Catholic Faith, but no violence is to be done them in the process. They are to be lovingly taught by the religious.

He is to see to it that they are allowed to go in entire freedom about the island. No one is to rob them, do violence to them, or any harm whatever.

He is to inform the caciques that it is the will of the monarchs that they be well treated, as good subjects and vassals of the Crown. Any one harming them is to be so punished that no one will dare repeat the offense.

Wives and daughters of the Indians taken from them *against their will* are to be returned. If any Spaniards wish to marry native women it is to be with the consent of both parties and not by force.

The Indians are to pay tribute, like other subjects, according to the value of their land. This is to be brought about after consultation with the caciques, who are to be made to understand that the collection of tribute is no injustice toward them.

"Item: since it will be necessary, in order to mine gold and carry out the other works we have ordered done, to make use of the services of the Indians, you are to compel them to work in our service, paying them the wages you think it just they should have."

The Indians are not to be allowed to bear arms.

Moors, Jews, heretics, "reconciliados," and New Christians are not to be allowed to go to the Indies. Negro and other slaves born among Christians may be transported to the Indies.<sup>22</sup>

This document is typical of many of that time in its solicitude for the conversion and well-being of the Indian.

The encomienda system was really stabilized two years later by two cédulas which Ovando succeeded in obtaining from Queen

<sup>21</sup> H. E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, p. 189.

<sup>22</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 27, citing instructions of Ferdinand and Isabella to Fray Nicolás de Ovando, Sept. 16, 1501.

Isabella on the grounds that if treated like "freemen" the Indians would not work, but would withdraw from all association with the whites, so that it would be impossible to Christianize them.<sup>23</sup> To meet these difficulties the Queen instructed Ovando to gather the Indians into villages where each Indian was to have a house and a farm of his own. Each town was to have a church with a chaplain for their instruction in reading and writing as well as in Christian Doctrine. Efforts were to be made to prevent oppression by their chiefs and to encourage intermarriage. To make the Indians work a royal order was issued in December, 1503, compelling them "to work on their buildings, and to gather and mine the gold and other metals, and to till the fields and produce food for the Christian inhabitants and dwellers of the said island."<sup>24</sup>

These two edicts fairly represent the colonial policy of the Spanish crown in its two aspects, ecclesiastical and economic. At first too much attention was centered on the latter, but as time went on, effort was made along both lines. Finally, under the *encomienda* system the "Indian *was* Christianized, more or less; he *was* protected eventually from unbearable oppression, and he *did* manage to persist in all the continental Spanish colonies."<sup>25</sup>

But before the system really accomplished anything worthwhile it had to pass through various vicissitudes. Its evils were proclaimed at Court and attempts were made to abolish it, one of the most famous of which was the commission sent in answer to the pleas of Las Casas in the persons of three Jeronymite Fathers who reported after six months' investigation that the Indians were treated well under the *encomienda* system.<sup>26</sup> On inquiring of the colonists their opinion about putting the Indians directly under the crown, they answered that the natives would be much worse off under salaried overseers, that, on the contrary, the *encomiendas* should be made perpetual.<sup>27</sup>

Rodrigo de Figueroa succeeded the Jeronymites, to be faced with the same dilemma. If the Indians were removed from the *encomiendas*, as the Emperor wished, the Spaniards would leave Española; if they were left in the *encomiendas*, he disobeyed the royal wish. Hence he tried the experiment of allowing two

<sup>23</sup> Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>24</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 30-31.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61-75.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

villages to govern themselves, but found that the Indians would do no more work than enough to keep themselves from starving. But Las Casas and the Dominicans had convinced Charles that the encomienda had been the ruin of the Indians; hence he resolved that it should not be introduced into the newly conquered empire of Mexico.<sup>28</sup>

But in spite of royal orders to the contrary, Cortez at length was induced to listen to the arguments of his army, who insisted upon the introduction of the encomienda into Mexico with the usual regulations. But Cortez's ordinances went farther in their protection of the Indians.<sup>29</sup>

In 1528 a regular government in the form of an audiencia under the presidency of Nuño de Guzmán was appointed for the new province. To the audiencia the most minute instructions regarding the Indians were sent. In fact so many regulations were laid down that it was impossible to follow any. The history of the first audiencia was the same old story, extortion, oppression, and lawlessness.<sup>30</sup>

The new audiencia was chosen with care. The president, Bishop Fuenleal, was an able man and his efforts resulted in comparative peace, with the Christianization of the Indians well on its way and with some hope of eliminating the abuse of the encomienda. During his governorship, Queen Isabel, who was ruling in Charles' absence, issued the *cédula* prohibiting further traffic in slaves and ordering the registration of all slaves held.<sup>31</sup> Also, the Bishop had opposed Indians being used as carriers. It seemed that the Council of the Indies was willing to accept recommendations from those who had had no actual experience in the government of the colonies.<sup>32</sup>

Antonio de Mendoza succeeded Bishop Fuenleal and his first nine years of rule may be considered as a continuation of the wise governing of his predecessor. Mexico was enjoying a stability hitherto unknown when one Tello de Sandoval arrived to administer the New Laws, which included the abolition of the encomienda. Mendoza and Bishop Zumárraga finally succeeded in inducing him to suspend that part of the laws of 1543. Even the Dominicans consulted defended the encomienda, which had

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<sup>28</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 75-79.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80-96.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96-111.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133 *et seq.*

by this time become the basis of economic life in the colonies. The Court finally heeded the protests against the New Laws and revised them.

When Mendoza's reign came to an end the encomienda was still in existence. "Free from the mist of theological controversy, and with a four centuries' perspective of the history and economics of colonization, we can see now that the encomienda grew out of the logic of circumstances. . . . It cannot be denied that on the whole it fulfilled the purposes for which it was invented. The evils attendant upon its evolution have been unjustly charged against the underlying theory, whereas they were rather the result of the friction of the tremendous readjustment of the New World caused by the Spanish invasion."<sup>33</sup>

Whether the Indians would have flourished under any other system cannot be known, but Spain's undying glory consists in her efforts not only to Christianize the Indians but to give them humane protection. Modern research will no doubt some day give Spain the honor she has been denied because of the overzealousness of one of her most noble sons.

ELIZABETH GRATZ THOMAS

Maryville College,  
St. Louis, Mo.

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<sup>33</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 188-190.



## DOCUMENTS

### LETTERS OF BISHOP VAN DE VELDE

The following letters of the Right Reverend James Oliver Van de Velde, Second Bishop of Chicago, appeared in the *Berichte der Leopoldinen—Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreichs*, the organ of the Viennese or Leopoldine Association for the Propagation of the Faith. They were addressed to the Prince Bishop of Vienna, Vincent Eduard Milde. The translations are by Reverend Thomas F. Cleary, Ph. D., of Philo, Illinois, who has also furnished the accompanying notes.

Some of the data contained in these letters of Bishop Van de Velde are also to be found in his Diary, which was published in McGovern, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, 1891.

#### I

[*Berichte*, XXIII, pp. 57-62]<sup>1</sup>

Chicago, June 11, 1850

To the Right honorable and right reverend Prince Bishop of Vienna, Vincent Edward Milde:

I have received your communications of March 15th and April 15th enclosing drafts to the amount of 3000 Austrian gulden or 240 pounds sterling which I immediately sent to New York and received in exchange therefor \$1267.93.

I sincerely thank you for your gracious, opportune assistance, which accorded well with my desire since I was in pressing need of aid and I did not know how to meet promptly some obligations for the payment of which I could not obtain an extension of time. I am expending this money principally for the construction of a church for the Germans who immigrate into Illinois from all parts of Germany because the land here is cheap and fertile and they are thus able to form settlements with convenience. What remains will be used for the support of the five German seminarians, who are destitute and therefore wholly dependent on me for support.

The church of St. Joseph<sup>2</sup> in this city of which Mr. Anton Kopp<sup>3</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> Reverend Frederick Resé, later bishop of the diocese of Detroit, Michigan, but at that time Vicar General of the diocese of Cincinnati under Bishop Edward Fenwick, laid the foundations of the Leopoldine Society in 1828 while he was soliciting funds in Austria and Bavaria for the benefit of Ohio Catholics. The Leopoldine Verein was officially established May 13, 1829. The *Berichte* or reports of American bishops and priests to the head of this pioneer extension society prove that American Catholics were recipients of European charity until the outbreak of the World War. A complete set of the *Berichte* is in the University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Illinois.

<sup>2</sup> St. Joseph's and St. Peter's parishes, Chicago, were organized in 1846 during the episcopate of Bishop William Quarter under the direction of Reverend John Jung, who arrived from Alsace September 21, 1845.

pastor was enlarged recently and provided with a small tower. Mr. Weikamp,<sup>4</sup> a native of Bavaria, recently came from Rome; he is pastor of St. Peter's church. Both churches were built of brick. There are 3000 German Catholics in Chicago and the number increases daily.

After Easter I began a visitation of my diocese, the greater part of which I visited last year. With especial reference to the Germans, I must report that on the third Sunday after Pentecost, on the patronal feast of St. Joseph, I consecrated the new brick church built last year by Mr. Henry Fortmann<sup>5</sup> at Gross Point<sup>6</sup> now called New Trier; this church is seventy feet long and thirty feet wide. Three masses were read in this church; at the first mass forty children and adults including three converts received first communion and after a sermon on confirmation eighty-one of them also received this sacrament. All the Catholics of this community are Germans, the greater part of whom live at New Trier.

On the following day I assembled the Germans at Ridgeville and vicinity and also those who live between New Trier and Chicago. It was proposed to build a church here this year a brick church and the hope was entertained that a similar church could be built this year at another place called Dutchman's Point.<sup>7</sup>

On the fourth Sunday after Easter I was in the city of Springfield,<sup>8</sup>

St. Joseph's Church was originally a small frame building located at the northwest corner of Chicago Avenue and Cass Street on the North Side.

<sup>2</sup> Reverend Anthony Kopp was preceded in St. Joseph's by Reverend John Jung, who for a short period was pastor of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's, by Reverend G. H. Plathe, who was appointed to St. Marie, Jasper County, Illinois, in September, 1847, and by Father Scheaffer. Following a pastorate of seven years in St. Joseph's parish, during which he organized St. Michael's parish (1852), Father Kopp took charge of St. Joseph's, Wilmette, where he concluded his pastorate in 1860. His name also appears in the parish history of Naperville.

<sup>4</sup> Reverend Bernard John Weikamp was pastor of St. Peter's parish 1850-1853 and had charge of St. Francis of Assisi parish on the West Side, 1853-1855. At the request of Bishop Baraga of Sault Ste. Marie, he transferred the headquarters of the community he founded to the Indian Mission at Arbre Croche, Michigan, in 1855.

<sup>5</sup> Reverend Joseph Henry Fortmann was born at Lohne, Oldenburg, Diocese of Muenster in 1802. Upon the completion of two years of theology he came to the United States and entered the seminary at the Barrens, Perry County, Missouri, June 3, 1833. He was ordained November 1, 1837. Father Fortmann was one of the most interesting of the pioneer German priests. As an organizer, builder, collector and educator he left an enviable record to posterity. Apple Creek (Missouri), Shoal Creek (Germantown), Wilmette, Niles Center, and Highland Park were the various fields of his pastoral activity. From Teutopolis, where he was pastor August 5, 1857, until January 1, 1858, he was transferred to St. Joseph's parish, Peoria, Illinois, where he died three weeks later. His last resting place in the priests' lot of the beautiful St. Mary's Cemetery, Peoria, Illinois, is marked by a plain old-fashioned tombstone still in a good state of preservation.

<sup>6</sup> Gross Point (Wilmette) in the township named "New Trier" was settled by Catholic German immigrants in 1844.

<sup>7</sup> "He [Bishop Van de Velde] then returned to Chicago with Father Di Maria, stopped on the Ridge and made arrangements to have a new church built at Ridgeville, just half way between Gross Point and Chicago." *New World*, April, 1900, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> The present cathedral city of the Springfield Diocese in Illinois. The

the seat of government in Illinois, where I read Mass, preached and administered the sacrament of confirmation. During the three following days I heard the confessions of the Germans who live in the neighborhood because they do not have a priest who is familiar with the German tongue. In consideration of the dearth of missionaries and the distance of many from the church the Easter time in this country extends from the first Sunday of Lent to Trinity Sunday.

The fifth Sunday after Easter in the city of Peoria, which is situated on the Illinois River, I gave first communion and confirmed.<sup>9</sup> Here live many Germans whose confessions I heard on the following day. Toward evening I journeyed to the parish called Black Partridge, fifteen miles from Peoria on the other side of the river in Woodford Co., where almost the whole parish consists of Germans.<sup>10</sup>

On Tuesday I heard confessions until one o'clock, then read Mass and finally confirmed. The church here is very small, is overcrowded, is poorly located and besides is built of logs. I advised the parish to build a larger and better church in a more suitable location and this they promised to do.

On Ascension Day I visited the church of St. Patrick, Kickapoo, where

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Catholics in Springfield and the surrounding country were organized by Reverend George H. Hamilton of the St. Louis Diocese, November, 1838-April, 1840. He was succeeded by priests of the Congregation of the Mission.

<sup>9</sup> Peoria, cathedral city of the Peoria Diocese. Most Rev. Joseph H. Schlarman is the present bishop. His predecessors were Most Rev. John L. Spalding and Most Rev. E. M. Dunne. The Peoria See was erected in 1875, Rev. Michael Hirley being named bishop. He refused the honor. Bishop Spalding took possession of the See in 1877.

<sup>10</sup> Black Partridge was named after a famous Indian chief. The village is now known as Lourdes, and the Catholic parish has been annexed to Metamora, Illinois, and is attended by the Franciscan Fathers, who also have charge of Sacred Heart Church, Peoria, Illinois. Six or eight Bavarian Catholic families immigrated to the southwestern part of Woodford County in 1837. The Congregation of the Mission opened the La Salle Mission in the spring of 1838. Father Raho states that as soon as he had established the mission at La Salle he began to visit outlying Catholic settlements, among which he names as most important: Pekin, Peoria, Kickapoo, Black Partridge and Lacon. In a letter addressed to his Superior General he writes January 1, 1840: "The last three [Kickapoo, Black Partridge and Lacon] had not yet seen a priest. The settlement at Black Partridge is large enough to need a chapel, and I propose to build one of timber next spring, and would already have begun it did I not lack money. It will be of service to the French, who are numerous here and to the Germans, among whom are many of the Anabaptist sect." The Protestant Germans, called Amish, were Mennonites. The original log chapel built in 1840 under the patronage of St. Raphael was replaced by a brick structure, which was begun in the spring of 1853 although it was not fully completed until 1857 or 1858. In 1882 Black Partridge was allotted 800 souls by the *Schematismus* or directory of German parishes in the United States and these figures are confirmed by a history of Woodford County published in 1879. At any rate Black Partridge was, until long after the formation of the Peoria diocese (1875), one of the largest German Catholic parishes in central Illinois.

some Germans live.<sup>11</sup> I heard confessions before Mass, gave communion, preached and then confirmed.

On the sixth Sunday after Easter, I did the same in Lacon, Marshall Co., where a large part of the Catholics speak English.<sup>12</sup> I hope that I may be able to send a German priest here this year to care for the Germans here and in the surrounding country. On Trinity Sunday I confirmed in a church belonging to natives not far from Elgin. On the next day I visited the German colony near McHenry twenty-five miles from Elgin. The parish has begun the construction of a beautiful frame church seventy-five feet long and thirty-two feet wide; it is now under roof but incomplete. It is hoped that the church will be ready for consecration in

<sup>11</sup> Just outside the village of Kickapoo stands the original stone chapel, the corner stone of which was laid by Father Blaise Raho, C. M., August 4, 1839. The erection of the chapel was made possible by the generosity of Mr. William Mulvaney who paid for all the material used in the building. This historic relic has been kept in repair by Mr. Sylvester Mulvaney of 26 Pearl Street, Asheville, N. C., assistant to the general superintendent of the Southern Railroad, a grandson of the original donor of the church. An oil painting of St. Patrick donated by Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis hangs above the main altar. The inscriptions on the tombstones dating back to the early forties are written variously in English, German, and French. Two priests are buried on the north side of the cemetery near the chapel. Reverend Peter Bienemann was born January 5, 1866, was ordained December 6, 1902, and died November 22, 1904. The Reverend Daniel J. Ryan, son of William Ryan and Margaret Keough Ryan was born at Kickapoo August 3, 1852, and ordained at the Alton Cathedral by Bishop Baltes June 29, 1876. He was stationed at Grafton, Virden, St. Joseph's, Springfield, and Mt. Sterling. He died July, 1900, as a result of injuries incurred November 23, 1899, when endeavoring to extinguish a fire in the parochial residence. His remains rest in the Catholic cemetery at Jacksonville. "The branches of the pioneer Ryans at Kickapoo were so numerous and their patronal names so similar that picturesque nicknames were employed to distinguish them." From the laity a few pioneer names are selected: William Patrick Mulvaney, a native of Dublin died November 15, 1855, aged 71 years; Alexander McDonnell died September 26, 1846; Lawrence Dolan died February 12, 1842, aged 34; Mary his wife died November 15, 1843; Peter Kearn, native of Ireland, died September 15, 1843, aged 45 years.

A few miles distant from Kickapoo can be seen the abandoned Jubilee College, once the center of the activities of the Protestant Episcopal church in central Illinois. Bishop Philander Chase, the founder of this institution, received a visit from Van de Velde when the Catholic prelate came to Kickapoo.

<sup>12</sup> Reverend Thomas Shaw in his *History of the La Salle Mission*, I, p. 90 and *passim* furnishes information about Lacon and surrounding territory: "A new mission house was opened in Lacon, Marshall County, where in John Kelly's house Mass was said for the first time. At the opening of 1846 Reverend Alphonse Montuori cared for Lacon and Crow Meadows in Marshall County; Hennepin in Putnam County; Dixon and Sandy Hill in Lee County." These various missions were attended from La Salle, the headquarters of the Vincentians, where several resident priests of the Congregation were available as assistants for Father Montuori's out-missions. Reverend Raphael Rainaldi, C. M., succeeded Father Montuori at Lacon and built there a frame church and priest's house. Reverend John Kilkenney (January 30, 1864-October, 1868), pastor of Lacon, one of the most noted builders of this section of Illinois, was responsible for the erection of the present church at Lacon, in 1867.



the autumn when the sacrament of confirmation may at the same time be administered.

Another colony of Germans who also live near McHenry but on the opposite bank of the Fox River desire likewise to build a church, a praiseworthy desire.<sup>13</sup> My thanks are due to that non-Catholic who has promised to donate the ground for the church.

The following week I spent in Bourbonnais where all the settlers numbering 2000 souls speak French.<sup>14</sup> They have immigrated from the lower part of Canada. Following my extensive circuit I go tomorrow to the western part of my diocese where last year four churches for the Germans were begun. A fairly large brick church is roofed and ready and will be dedicated to St. Libory on the fifth Sunday after Pentecost, the 23rd.<sup>15</sup>

The third is at Columbia and will be blessed when the plastering shall be completed.<sup>16</sup> The fourth, a frame church, will probably be completed and blessed toward the end of the month.

<sup>13</sup> Elgin, Kane County, in Rockford Diocese. McHenry in McHenry County, Rockford Diocese. In his diary May 1, 1850, Bishop Van de Velde says: "Visited new church (not finished, frame) of St. John the Baptist Settlement, three or four miles from McHenry (75 by 35 feet) well designed. Made arrangements to have frame church fifty by thirty-five feet built at McHenry. A lot free for the purpose was given by Mr. Brown, a Protestant. November 9, 1851, blessed church of St. John the Baptist of the German congregation near the village of McHenry. After last Mass instructed in English; confirmed 63 persons." From the parish history, 1842-1927, by Reverend William Webber, pastor of Johnsburg (McHenry, P. O.), the following facts are derived. The first German Catholic settlers arrived in 1841. Fred Schmitt, the grandfather of Reverend John F. Schmitt, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Aurora, built the first chapel in 1843. "The chapel was 12 by 17 and was used for ten years. In 1853 this was replaced by a brick chapel, which was enlarged to a depth of 28 feet in 1878. It is standing yet; Mass was said in and by [sic] Reverend G. H. Plathe."

<sup>14</sup> Bourbonnais near Kankakee, present site of St. Viator's College, and named after Francis Bourbonnais, was the distributing center for the Catholic immigration from lower Canada. The history of the Catholic Church in Kankakee County begins with Bourbonnais. Bishop Hallandière, head of the Diocese of Vincennes, of which eastern Illinois was then a part, appointed Reverend Hippolyte Dupontavice as pastor of the Catholics of Joliet, December 16, 1839, on the same day that he appointed Reverend Maurice de St. Palais pastor of old St. Mary's Church, Chicago, Illinois. Father Crevier was the first priest to visit Bourbonnais but Father Maurice de St. Palais and Father Dupontavice both attended the Kankakee County Catholics. Father Dupontavice built, near the present Maternity Church in Bourbonnais, a log chapel, the first Catholic house of worship in Kankakee County.

<sup>15</sup> North Germans from the Diocese of Paderborn named this settlement in honor of their patron, Liborius. In response to a petition for a priest Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis under whose jurisdiction western Illinois remained until November, 1843, sent to the missions of St. Thaddeus and St. Liborius at Fayetteville on January 21, 1839, as first pastor, Reverend Gaspar Henry Ostlangenberg. This parish is in the Belleville Diocese in St. Clair County, Illinois, in the southwestern part of the state.

<sup>16</sup> Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Columbia, Monroe County, Belleville Diocese in southwestern Illinois. Settlement dates from 1840 when Catholic Bavarians arrived. As early as 1846 Reverend Gaspar H. Ostlangenberg, then at Belleville, said Mass at Columbia in



At Teutopolis or Germantown, Effingham County, where Mr. Joseph Kuenster has the pastoral care of almost 300 Catholics, the corner stone of a beautiful brick church should be laid this month during this same visitation; but different opinions and views concerning the location of the church divide the parish, this condition has existed for two years; obstinately each party refuses to withdraw from its position.<sup>17</sup> Neither of the parties is willing to accede to the wishes of the bishop; the praiseworthy proposed undertaking is hindered while the strife continues with passionate intensity. Meanwhile the partisans must use the old building which is a log church unsuitable for divine worship, exposed to the wind, and scarcely large enough to contain one-sixth of the congregation. They will sacrifice themselves to draughts and the inconvenience of the locality rather than change their prejudiced opinions which are based on private interests, in consequence of which some wish to purchase the ground and build the church near their own property or dwelling or in some other way sacrifice their advantages to their egotistic opinions.

Your Grace will pardon me for closing my description of the visitation at this point since I am very busy and cannot resist other urgent demands upon my time; I remain devotedly,

Your very humble servant and brother in Christ,  
James Oliver Van de Velde M. P.  
Bishop of Chicago

## II

[*Berichte*, XXIV (1852)]

Chicago, January 14, 1851

Right Reverend, Right Honorable and highly respected Prince:

In my last letter, if I mistake not, I promised to give you a description of the condition of my diocese, the reception of our holy religion in the same, and chiefly among the Germans, and I now can fulfill my promise since I have just returned from a visitation of the greater part of my

private homes. In the fifties attended from Belleville, Waterloo and Millstadt or Centreville until 1858 when the parish obtained a resident pastor. Reverend P. J. Baltes, then of Waterloo, later Bishop, founded a parochial school at Columbia in 1853.

<sup>17</sup> In July, 1837, a German Catholic land colony purchased ten thousand acres of land. There were three large colonization projects in Illinois; in Jasper County, in Kankakee County and in Effingham County. Father Masquelet built a log church about 1840, and in a vain attempt to restore harmony between himself and the congregation, he built another log chapel outside the village of Teutopolis. After the departure of Father Masquelet to work among the Germans of Louisiana (1842) until 1845, Teutopolis was attended by Reverend Charles Opperman, rector of the Diocesan Seminary at Vincennes, Reverend T. M. Mullen, O. S. A., of Newton, Illinois, Reverend Roman Weinzoepflen, who heard confessions during the Easter season, and the Eudist priest, Reverend J. Vabert. Reverend Joseph Kuenster resided at Teutopolis from November, 1845, until August, 1850. When dissension again arose respecting the site for a proposed new church he resigned and departed for Quincy. Bishop Van de Velde accepted the site selected by Father Kuenster, isolated the lot speculators from their dominating position, and laid the corner stone of the new church July 20, 1851.

southern mission: I will for the present confine myself chiefly to a description of the German parishes and communities.

On the fourth Sunday after Pentecost (during the past year, 1850) I administered the sacrament of confirmation at Mount Sterling.<sup>18</sup> Only a few Germans from the neighborhood were present, whom I confirmed. The missionary of this district was not familiar with their tongue.

On the following day I visited the city of Quincy which has a Catholic population of perhaps 3000 German Catholics, who have a large, fine church dedicated to St. Boniface.<sup>19</sup> This church, unfortunately, is not yet complete since it lacks the bell tower, which cannot be built until the debt contracted in building the church and in purchasing the ground for the new cemetery will have been paid.

From Quincy I went by water to the city of St. Louis situated on the other side of the Mississippi River, which separates the state of Illinois from the state of Missouri. There on the feast of St. Aloysius I pontificated solemnly and confirmed one hundred and fifty-three pupils of the college and others in addition in the church of St. Francis Xavier, which belongs to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

On the following day I recrossed the Mississippi with the Jesuits, Father J. De Smet,<sup>20</sup> Father Nussbaum, and the secular priest Joseph

<sup>18</sup> Mt. Sterling, Brown County in the Springfield (formerly Alton) Diocese. Reverend George H. Hamilton, a relative of the late Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of the Peoria Diocese, was appointed to the Sangamon River or Springfield mission center in November, 1838. From Springfield as a center he visited fifteen stations in the counties Sangamon, Macon, Shelby, Morgan, Scott, Brown, Cass, and Logan. In writing to Bishop Rosati December 29, 1839, he refers to "Sterling, 70 miles northwest of Springfield, seat of justice of Brown County, a new and more numerous settlement of Irish Catholics." On April 18, 1840, Father Hamilton was appointed pastor of Alton and he was succeeded in the Springfield district by the Vincentian Fathers of La Salle.

<sup>19</sup> Quincy, Hancock County, in the Springfield Diocese at about the center of the western boundary of Illinois. The history of this parish has been written in German and English. It is one of the oldest and most flourishing centers of Catholicity in west central Illinois. Reverend Peter Paul Lefevere, later Bishop of Zela and Administrator of Detroit, while pastor of St. Paul's on Salt River in Ralls County, Missouri, first visited the Catholics of Quincy and the neighboring territory and reported to Bishop Rosati their need of a priest as early as July 3, 1834. There were 205 Catholics in Adams County in 1837 according to his report to the Diocesan Synod at St. Louis. In 1837 Father Lefevere was succeeded in Quincy by Reverend August F. Brickwedde, a cultured Hanoverian, who organized a permanent German parish. The first English speaking parish was organized by Reverend Hilary Tucker, who came to Quincy about May, 1839. The history of the parochial school system in Illinois, which began in the thirties, must concede a prominent place to Quincy as one of the most enterprising of the pioneer Catholic communities.

<sup>20</sup> Reverend Peter J. De Smet, famous Jesuit missionary among the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountain region, was a native of Belgium and one of the group of seven Flemish admitted to the Society of Jesus in October, 1821, by Father Anthony Kohlman at Georgetown College. The Jesuits entered the St. Louis diocese in 1823 and under the direction of Father Felix Van Quickenborne opened a novitiate at Florissant, Missouri. Father De Smet died at St. Louis University May 23, 1873. He was ordained September 23, 1827, at Florissant.

Künster.<sup>21</sup> We ate the midday meal at Belleville where many German Catholics live.<sup>22</sup> Toward evening we arrived at Fayetteville<sup>23</sup> where the Germans have begun to build a pretty little church of planed wood which will be completed this year and will be dedicated to St. Pancras. On the other side of Kaskaskia River, 150 mounted Germans awaited the arrival of their bishop in order to accompany him to their newly built brick church which he solemnly consecrated on the following day.<sup>24</sup>

On the fifth Sunday after Easter [Pentecost?], therefore, on the 23rd of June under the patronage of St. Liborius I solemnly consecrated the church and following this ceremony I celebrated a solemn high Mass in the presence of a great number of Catholics and Protestants. In the afternoon at the close of pontifical vespers Father De Smet blessed the new cemetery. The church of St. Liborius is 35 miles distant from the city of St. Louis. The construction of this church was begun in May 1848; it is 70 feet long, 40 feet wide and has a tower 83 feet high with a stairway around it, and from this tower one can obtain a view of the whole countryside. The number of Catholics, all Germans and colonists who dwell here, amounts to 700 souls. In addition to the church they have two schools, one for boys, the other girls; all this is due to the zeal and solicitude of Father August Brickwedde who has lived in this settlement since March 1849.<sup>25</sup> He began and completed the church and he will begin another church at Dutch Hill next spring.

In the following days I visited several communities that speak only English, administered the sacrament of confirmation, and gave minor orders to three scholastics in the Jesuit novitiate.

On the sixth of July I came to Highland 54 miles from St. Louis where a few years ago some immigrant Swiss and Bavarians who speak German founded a settlement.<sup>26</sup> The Catholics who are mingled here

<sup>21</sup> Reverend Joseph Kuenster was ordained August 25, 1842, and a short time later in the same year received an appointment to Belleville where he built a church; from Belleville he went to Teutopolis and thence to Quincy where he died September 15, 1857. His entries in the baptismal records of Belleville extend from November 20, 1842, to September 24, 1845.

<sup>22</sup> An Episcopal See. The Diocese of Belleville, erected January 7, 1887, comprises Illinois south of the northern limits of St. Clair, Clinton, Marion, Clay, Richland and Lawrence Counties. Most Reverend John Jannsen was the first bishop of the diocese. Father Kuenster was succeeded at Belleville by Reverend Gaspar H. Ostlangenberg, later pastor of St. Peter's, Chicago, 1853-1855.

<sup>23</sup> Fayetteville (Mascoutah, P. O., St. Clair Co., St. Pancratius' parish, Belleville Diocese).

<sup>24</sup> This river rises in Champaign County.

<sup>25</sup> Reverend August Florentius Brickwedde was born June 24, 1805, at Furstenuau, kingdom of Hanover, Diocese of Osnabrueck. After completing his studies at Osnabrueck and at the Universities of Munich and Bonn, he was ordained in the Cathedral of Hildesheim September 20, 1830. He came to the United States in 1837 and received an appointment to Quincy in the same year. In March 16, 1849, he was transferred to Libory Settlement or Mud Creek where he built a brick church in 1849. He died November 21, 1865, and was buried at Libory. Father Brickwedde gave a powerful impetus to vocations among the native-born by his parochial schools. He was a true apostle.

<sup>26</sup> Highland, Madison County, St. Paul's, Springfield Diocese in Illinois.

with the Protestants have a church of planed wood, which, however, is incomplete. The land in the neighborhood is fertile; on the hills the settlers have planted vines. The number of Catholics belonging to the church of the Apostle St. Paul amounts to 800. Mr. Carl Morogna, a native of Welsh-Tyrol and pastor of Germantown in the so-called Shoal Creek district visits Highland once a month and, indeed, was there when I arrived.<sup>27</sup> It is indispensably necessary to place here a resident pastor who can speak German, but at the present I cannot improve the situation. On the next day, the ninth of July, I read Mass, preached, and confirmed 97 persons of both sexes many of whom were grown up and married and in their whole lives had never seen a bishop. Then I returned to St. Louis.<sup>28</sup>

On the first of July I journeyed to the city of Vincennes 154 miles from St. Louis and 12 miles from the church of St. Francis Xavier in Vincennes, at St. Francisville in the diocese of Chicago, I confirmed.<sup>29</sup> St. Francisville is situated on the right bank of the Wabash river which separates the states of Illinois and Indiana. The blessing was given by the founder of this parish, Father John Corbe assisted by the Right Reverend Bishops of Vincennes and Chicago, of whom the one sang pontifical Mass and the other preached.<sup>30</sup> Almost all the inhabitants of this place are French by nativity; a few of the inhabitants are German or Irish. Mr. Chasse visits them from Vincennes monthly; from St. Francisville I went to St. Louis.

In the month of August I visited the parish of Waterloo in the state of Illinois 20 miles from St. Louis.<sup>31</sup> Almost all the Catholics here are

<sup>27</sup> Carl Joseph, Count of Marogna was born in 1792 near Triest in Tyrol, studied theology at Mayence and was ordained in 1824. As pastor of Algeu in the Diocese of Augsburg he labored until 1847 when he came to the United States, and after a brief stay in Chicago and Napierville (1848) he was sent to Germantown (Shoal Creek). He joined the Benedictine order in 1853 and died at St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1860.

<sup>28</sup> Vincennes at this time was the See of the Diocese of Vincennes, now the Diocese of Indianapolis. The Bishop of Vincennes at the time of the events referred to here was Rt. Rev. Maurice de St. Palais (consecrated January 14, 1849, died June 28, 1877), the fourth occupant of this See. Vincennes is on the Wabash river in Indiana just across from Illinois. The old cathedral containing the tombs of four bishops is a monument to a century of Catholic progress.

Reverend G. B. Chasse, associated with the College of St. Gabriel's, Vincennes, writing to Joseph Picquet June 25, 1850, makes some observations that are apropos: "I was expecting the Bishop of Chicago for the benediction of the new church of St. Francisville, but I do not believe that he will be here before October, so I hope that our bishop will perform the ceremony on the 14th of next month assisted by two of the most corpulent and best looking priests of his diocese, I need not name them to you . . . Vincennes is always the same dull place . . . they talk a good deal, but do very little. However, they are to begin next month the plank road from here to Lawrenceville, the survey is already made. The other one from here to Bousville will be commenced about the same time . . . that gives us some life, but otherwise we will soon die. . . ."

<sup>29</sup> Called Cats River or La Riviere au Chat before 1838.

<sup>30</sup> Father John Corbe, pastor of the village church, St. Mary-of-the-Woods. He died June 3, 1872, as chaplain of the Sisters of St. Mary-of-the-Woods.

<sup>31</sup> Waterloo, Monroe County, SS. Peter and Paul, Belleville Diocese.



German. The ground had already been prepared for the construction of a brick church which the parishoners hope to have completed by next year.

On the day following I came to Centreville.<sup>32</sup> This parish consisting, with a few exceptions, of Germans possesses a brick church which for lack of means has not been completed. For the completion of this church I permitted a small loan which can be repaid by the pew rent.

On the third of the same month I came to Columbia where a large part of the inhabitants are German. The little stone church recently built there lacks windows, and has not been decorated nor furnished. I have assisted the foregoing three churches with funds I have received from the Leopoldine society.

On the sixth of August I started to Chicago where I arrived on the tenth. On the 25th [Rev.] Mr. Gaspar Ostlangenberg, missionary at Belleville, returned here from Europe where he had been journeying; I defrayed the cost of his journey as he was unable to meet this expense.<sup>33</sup>

On the first of September, that is to say, on the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost I raised to the diaconate Mr. Roderick Heimerling<sup>34</sup> of Bavaria and Mr. Maurice Gipperich,<sup>35</sup> a native of Westphalia, both of whom I elevated to the priesthood on the sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

On the 18th of September, I went with Mr. Heimerling to Galena in the extreme northwestern part of my diocese where I arrived after midnight, Sunday September 22nd. There are two churches there for the English-speaking inhabitants; there is, however no church for the Germans of whom there are many here, so I gathered them together after vespers and advised them to purchase a lot on which a church may be built. I left with them Mr. Heimerling as their pastor and all promised to do their utmost to build a church in the year 1851.

Under date of October 5, 1824, Bishop Joseph Rosati mentions that while on an Episcopal visitation he and his assistant clergy spent the night at Waterloo. Parish history begins 1843.

<sup>32</sup> Centreville, St. James. Millstadt, St. Clair County, Belleville Diocese in Illinois.

<sup>33</sup> Reverend Gaspar H. Ostlangenberg was born March 4, 1810, in Westphalia, near Langenberg, Kreis Widenbrueck. He came to the United States in 1833, entered St. Mary's Seminary, Perry County, Missouri. His last pastorate in Illinois was at St. Francis of Assisi Church, Chicago, 1857-59. He died at Augusta, Bracken County, Kentucky, August 9, 1885. For biography see *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, III, p. 43 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Reverend Roderick Heimerling was born February 20, 1825, in Waldfausten, Bavaria. After completing his studies at the College of the Propaganda in Rome he came to the Chicago Diocese and was stationed at various places in Illinois including Sault Ste. Marie, Jasper County (1856-57) and Beardstown, where he opened a school (October 26, 1859-March 20, 1866). He died March 20, 1866, at Beardstown and was buried there. His biographer attributes the death of this "great and generous man" to a severe cold contracted in making a sick call.

<sup>35</sup> Reverend Maurice Gipperich did extensive missionary work among the Germans. He is included in the list of priests who attended Johnsburg and vicinity (1853-54), Black Partridge, and Peoria. He organized St. Joseph's parish in Peoria and built St. Joseph's Church in 1855. In 1857 he left Peoria, was succeeded by Reverend J. H. Fortmann, and died in Louisville a short time later. His name is remembered as the founder of the first German parish in the city that later became an Episcopal See.



On the 25th I came to Rock Island where there are many Germans who had never been visited before.<sup>36</sup> I assembled as many of them as I could from the city and the surrounding territory, represented to them the need for a church, showed them a lot which I hold for this purpose and promised them that if they would begin the building of a church I would send them a resident pastor. I have already obtained a priest from Alsace who is going to take over this task.

On the 28th I was in Nauvoo.<sup>37</sup> In addition to the English-speaking here who have a little church, there are many Germans, whom Mr. J. G. Alleman visits once a month from his residence on the other side of the Mississippi River in the Diocese of Dubuque.<sup>38</sup> I think that a church for these Germans would be useful and I shall take measures that such a church be built at Warsaw 15 miles from Nauvoo since there are many Germans at Warsaw.<sup>39</sup>

On the following day the 18th Sunday after Pentecost, early in the morning I arrived by steamboat at Quincy where in the church of St. Boniface I read Holy Mass, preached and confirmed in the church for the English-speaking, St. Lawrence and sang vespers and gave benediction of the most Blessed Sacrament in the afternoon at the German church.

On the sixth of October, the 19th Sunday after Pentecost, I preached and confirmed before Mass at Alton,<sup>40</sup> Illinois, 22 miles from St. Louis;

<sup>36</sup> The first church in Rock Island was built in 1851 by Reverend John G. Alleman, a German Dominican, who from 1851 to 1856 attended Geneseo, Sheffield, Carbon Cliff, Minersville, Hampton, Rapids City, Port Byron, Coal Valley, Edgington and Keithsburg. In his report to the Leopoldine Association at Vienna (*Berichte*, XLVI) the great national missionary, Rev. F. X. Weninger, sketches conditions in this territory twenty-five years later: "The mission began October 24, 1875, and closed on All Souls Day. The German Catholics of Rock Island, Davenport, Moline, Hampton, Geneseo, in short the whole neighborhood came from a distance of 40 miles. All wished to see and hear the man who had brought so many blessings to America and who was now in the decline of life. The crowd was imposing and unexpected. Never before had Rock Island seen the like. More than once during his sermons the whole great crowd sobbed aloud. No heart remained untouched, no eye dry. The Protestants who came in great numbers were compelled to acknowledge that such could happen only in a Catholic Church. After the solemn Requiem Mass on All Souls Day 90 women joined the fraternity of the poor souls. In the afternoon he [the missionary] blessed the little children and invited them to join the St. Peter Claver Society."

<sup>37</sup> Nauvoo, Hancock County, Peoria Diocese. Reverend Peter Paul Lefevere extended his ministrations to western Illinois in 1834. He reported 214 Catholics in Hancock County in 1837. Nauvoo first bore the name Commerce. Mormonism under the leadership of Joseph Smith flourished here between 1840 and 1846.

<sup>38</sup> George Alleman, O. P., was born in 1806 near Strassburg, Alsace, and died at St. Vincent's Hospital, St. Louis, July 14, 1865. He was one of the most noted missionaries of the middle west. The residence on the other side of the river was Keokuk, Iowa. His first mission center was Fort Madison.

<sup>39</sup> Warsaw was first visited by Father Lefevere and after the spring of 1839 by Reverend Hilary Tucker of St. Lawrence, Quincy, who visited the surrounding Catholic settlements until 1846 when he entered an eastern diocese.

<sup>40</sup> Catholics settled here as early as 1833, and were attended by priests from St. Louis regularly after 1837. Reverend George Hamilton, Sr., the

after vespers I again preached, and on the following day I confirmed some German children at Edwardsville where a little church has been erected for the common use of the Germans and the Irish.<sup>41</sup> The Reverend M. Carroll says Mass here once a month, and the Jesuits from their mother-house at St. Louis take care of the Germans. In the afternoon I went back to St. Louis where in the course of the week I confirmed several French.

On the 13th of October, the twentieth Sunday after Pentecost, I read the early Mass, preached, and, in the church St. Charles which both French and Americans attend, I administered the sacrament of confirmation. In the afternoon I confirmed at the German church, which is incomplete. Sixty-five German children, of whom thirty-five came from the Dardennes district, received confirmation.<sup>42</sup>

On Tuesday I journeyed to Chester ninety miles from St. Louis on the lower bank of the Mississippi in the state of Illinois.<sup>43</sup> On the same day I laid the corner stone of a new church for the Germans of the region assisted by Mr. Franz D'Hoop of the University of St. Louis, who delivered the sermon for the occasion, and Mr. Nicolaus Perrin of Kaskaskia who visits this place once a month.<sup>44</sup>

From Chester I went down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio which I ascended to Shawneetown where I arrived on Friday.<sup>45</sup> No bishop had been there before.

Here I read Mass on the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost, preached and confirmed. Although few Germans live here there are many in the interior of the Hamilton district, where in the past year they built a church. I earnestly desired to visit them, but the distance was great, the roads were bad, and I could not obtain a conveyance, so I deferred the visit until next year. From Shawneetown I went via Louisville, Cincinnati, and Detroit back to Chicago where I arrived last October.

On this last visitation I almost completed the circuit of my diocese and within six weeks I travelled a distance of two hundred miles.

On Sunday the fifth of November I preached and confirmed at Ottawa, eighty-five miles from Chicago.<sup>46</sup> On the next day I heard the confessions of the many Germans who live there and I promised them that upon my return (to Chicago) I would send them a German priest. I have actually sent to them the newly ordained priest, M. Gipperich as

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first pastor, was succeeded by Reverend Michael Carroll, who built the cathedral of the Alton Diocese. He died at Elgin December 29, 1860.

<sup>41</sup> Edwardsville, Madison County, Springfield Diocese. Parish organization dates from 1841.

<sup>42</sup> St. Charles and Dardennes are in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, Missouri.

<sup>43</sup> County Seat of Randolph County, Belleville Diocese.

<sup>44</sup> Pastor of Kaskaskia, 1849-1859. This parish, an outgrowth of an old Jesuit Indian mission, dates back to the beginning of the 18th century. Kaskaskia is in Randolph County in the Belleville Diocese.

<sup>45</sup> Shawneetown, Gallatin County, in Belleville Diocese, Illinois. Bishop Flaget was the first prelate to travel in this region; he crossed the Ohio at this point.

<sup>46</sup> Ottawa, La Salle County, county seat; a deanery of the Peoria Diocese. Organized by the Lazarists from La Salle in 1839.

their pastor. He will also look after the spiritual interests of the Germans who have settled at Joliet.

On the following Sunday, the 12th of November I sang vespers in St. Peter's church, Chicago, and confirmed. The pastor of this church is Mr. Weikamp, who came here from the College of the Propaganda.

On the following day I sent to Teutopolis Mr. Joseph Zoegel, who recently came from Alsace.<sup>47</sup> A few years ago the Germans settled at Teutopolis and built a little frame church. I promised them a gift of 200 or 500 Austrian gulden if they would agree at their own expense to erect a new and more spacious church of brick.

On the 17th of November in the church of the Holy Name of Jesus I ordained Mr. Herman Liermann,<sup>48</sup> and the day after I sent him to the mission of Belleville 14 miles from St. Louis and 360 miles from Chicago entrusting to him the pastoral care of the Germans who belong to the parishes of Centreville, Columbia, and Prairie du Long. In the German church, St. Joseph's I sang vespers, confirmed, and blessed a bell.

On the 11th of December I raised to the priesthood the following men: Bernard Boors of Westphalia and James Fitzgerald,<sup>49</sup> an Irishman who understands German. The first belongs to the Diocese of Vincennes and will occasionally, that is to say, twice a month, visit the Germans who live on upper Lake Michigan; the latter will care for the Germans on the bank of the Mississippi, because I cannot without great difficulty send him there in the winter time when all communication with the place is suspended, I must keep him here at the cathedral. So much for the Germans, whom I visited after Pentecost. I felt obligated to render a report concerning them to your Grace.

This year I opened the orphan asylum for girls but this undertaking has so burdened me with debt that I am unable even at this date to begin the construction of a second building for the boys.

In the following I render an account of the 3000 gulden or \$1268 which the Leopoldine Society graciously donated to me.

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<sup>47</sup> Father Zoegel was pastor of Teutopolis, November 13, 1850, to June, 1854. He was a successful pastor. A few years after leaving Teutopolis he entered an eastern diocese.

<sup>48</sup> Reverend Henry Liermann was born June 28, 1821, at Vorhelm, Westphalia, Diocese of Muenster. He came to the United States in 1850 and was ordained November 17, 1850, by Bishop Van de Velde. He was transferred from the Belleville and Centreville district to Teutopolis, where he remained from 1856 to 1857; thence he went to St. Peter's Church, Chicago (1857-60) where he gained the good will and co-operation of his congregation; he was successively pastor at McHenry and St. Nicholas, Aurora. He was appointed to Rock Island January, 1880, exchanging places with Father Schnuckel. He died at St. Mary's, Rock Island, from sciatic rheumatism, June 5, 1888. The newspaper obituary states that he was an able and eloquent preacher and that he was beloved by his parish. The Requiem Mass was celebrated by Father Kalvelage of Chicago, who was assisted by Father Boers of Ottawa and Father Greve of Moline. Reverend Father Niermann of Davenport preached in German and Reverend Thomas Mackin of St. Joseph's Church, Rock Island, delivered the English funeral sermon.

<sup>49</sup> The name Reverend James Fitzgerald appears on the records of St. Patrick's, Dixon, Lee County, 1854-56, and on the records of St. Mary's Church, Peoria, from the middle of 1856 to February 1, 1857.

For various churches for the use of the Germans which either have been constructed or are in the course of construction I have subscribed \$1150. Of this I paid \$250 in cash. To the seminary for the support of five German seminarians \$500. To the girls' orphan asylum from the Leopoldine fund \$400. (It cost \$4200 and was built for all nationalities.) Outfitting and furnishing travelling equipment to five German missionaries \$115. Total \$1265. On the church there is a debt of \$900; on the orphan asylum, \$1500; on the seminary, \$500. Total \$2900, a debt which must be referred to the Germans alone, not to mention the Americans and the French.

This subscription for churches is something altogether new in this region, since formerly the Bishops ordinarily imposed the entire cost of building upon the faithful. Since 1849 when I entered and began to visit my diocese I have contributed toward such buildings \$3000 or more than 7000 Austrian gulden, but this is the reason why so many churches have been built. In one year for the necessities of this city alone in enlarging and beautifying churches, in constructing schools, hospitals, poor-asylums and in the undertaking of other good works I could spend more than \$100,000.

I close with the report on my visitation up to this point. If my pressing duties permit I shall next journey into the southern part of my diocese. I consider it very necessary to visit these missions in order to convince them of the solicitude and watchfulness of their spiritual shepherd concerning all things that bear on their spiritual welfare, in order to actively influence the moral conduct of the faithful, to strengthen them in their Catholic faith, to inspire them to courage, strength and fortitude in meeting the obstacles in their lives to arouse their moral dignity, to make them acquainted with the higher vocations of the Christian so that their religious perception will not disappear and so that the proselytism of so many sects will make no progress among them.

Meanwhile I recommend myself and my flock to your prayers, and I assure you and the members of the Leopoldine Association of four thousand fold thanks for the assistance which you have thus far mercifully granted to my mission, and for the help which with God's help you will continue to give. With sentiments of lively gratitude and deep respect, I have the honor to be your most devoted and obedient servant and brother in Christ.

James Oliver, M. P.<sup>50</sup>  
Bishop of Chicago

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<sup>50</sup> Bishop James Van de Velde was consecrated February 11, 1849; transferred to Natchez July 29, 1853, he died there November, 1855. The condition of the German parishes is stressed because Bishop Van de Velde was appealing to the Leopoldine Society for financial assistance in caring for the German immigrants.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches (1848-1868)*. Edited with Introduction by Leo Francis Stock, Ph. D., LL. D., Catholic University Press, 1933, xxxix+456 pp. \$5.00.

This excellent piece of work is Volume I of what we may hope will be a long series of *Documents* published by the American Catholic Historical Association. Dr. Stock, in his introduction, which takes up thirty-nine of the five hundred folio pages of the book, gives a summary outline of the official relations between the governments of the United States and of the Papal States, from the appointment of the first United States consul at Rome, in 1797, through the development of the American Legation, inaugurated in 1848, to the hasty and undignified withdrawal of the Legation in 1867. The remainder of the volume consists of documents, which furnish in detail a most interesting record of the pontificate of Pius IX, as seen through the eyes of the six succeeding ministers who represented the United States at the Papal court. The instructions and despatches, which begin only with the establishment of the Legation in 1848, are American alone, except for such occasional transcripts of Papal documents as happened to be included in the American despatches. Dr. Stock indicates that the Vatican authorities did not permit the inclusion of fuller correspondence from the Papal Secretary of State.

In reading these documents, one is struck by the genuine cordiality existing between the two governments. There is a completeness to the mutual understanding they display, which is all the more impressive when viewed against the background of popular anti-Catholic feeling in the United States. Recalling the Know-Nothing movement of the fifties and the very considerable disturbance it created here at home, we may be astonished to observe no reflection whatever of it in the United States Ministers at Rome. The very friendly Papal attitude toward the United States was appreciated by our Ministers, who in turn showed an intelligent sympathy in the peculiar political troubles of the Papal States. Particularly appreciated was the readiness of the Papal authorities to meet the demands of the United States government for the return of John H. Surratt, to be tried for complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln.



Dr. Stock deserves much credit for the illuminating way in which he has edited these documents, and for the wealth of erudition through which he has opened up the relations between the United States and the Papal States to those who may wish to make further study of them. Although the character of the work did not call for a formal bibliography, Dr. Stock has supplied an abundance of bibliographic material in his admirable footnotes.

WILLIAM T. KANE, S. J., Ph. D.

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*American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Papal States, 1847-1867.* By Sister Loretta Clare Feiertag, S. C., Washington, 1933, vii+188 pp.

Sister Loretta Clare's dissertation (Catholic University of America, 1933) adds an interesting chapter to the better appreciation of one of the least understood episodes in American history. During nearly a score of years the United States maintained a diplomatic mission in the Eternal City, then ruled by the Popes as sovereigns of the Papal States. The mission has been accorded scant consideration in the popular handbooks of American diplomatic history, but of late a small group of scholars have been gathering and studying the extant documentary records of the mission, and the recent publication of Doctor Leo F. Stock's *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches* opens the way for further critical examination of its more significant aspects.

Sister Clare's purpose in the present study has been to record the reactions of American public opinion, more particularly as recorded in the American press, to the establishment and maintenance of the mission. Across the pages of the work pass the shades of men once prominent and once listened to with marked attention in the United States,—Greeley of the *Tribune* most articulate, perhaps, of all. Keeping pace with the narrative there may also be traced successive phases of the recurring waves of religious animosity. A naïve conviction of the universal desirability of democratic government favored the establishment of the mission; its suppression did not take place without echoes of political intolerance.

Sister Clare is to be commended for her painstaking research and intelligent presentation of results. Commendable too, is her carefully constructed background of European, or more particularly, of Italian, politics. Certain features, such as the Bedini incident, might have been expanded to provide a fuller idea of certain "nativist" attitudes at the time, but after all these are matters of judgment and the author undoubtedly had ample grounds for limiting her presentation.

The work may be procured from the College of Mount St. Joseph, Mount St. Joseph, Ohio, at \$1.50 a volume.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR, M. A.

Saint Louis University

*The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, Vol. II, 1865-1881.

Edited with introduction and notes by James G. Randall, University of Illinois. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XXII.) Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill., 1933, xxv+698 pp.

The present volume contains the second half of the important diary of a distinguished public servant, Orville Hickman Browning. Like Gideon Welles, Browning was a cabinet officer, being Secretary of the Interior under President Johnson (1866-1869). The diaries of the two officials have much in common in the intimate, first-hand information which they afford on the government affairs in which they were actively concerned. Welles in his latter days revised his diary, thereby detracting somewhat from its value as a contemporary source. Browning, who wrote for his personal satisfaction and without view to publication, left his diary untouched. With Southern antecedents and consistently conservative and tolerant, he shared Lincoln's views as to the wisdom of a policy of forbearance in dealing with the South at the close of the war. He minces no words in condemning the findings of the military commission which sent Mrs. Surratt and the others to the gallows. "This commission was without authority and its proceedings void. The execution of these persons will be murder" (p. 37). As to the well-known incident of the withholding from President Johnson of the military commission's recommendation of clemency for Mrs. Surratt, the diary has this interesting entry under date of August 9, 1867:

Mr. Stanbery not yet returned and Mr. Stanton not at the Cabinet. All the rest present. I asked the President and Cabinet about the recommendation of a part of the Military Commission to have the sentence of Mrs. Surratt commuted to imprisonment for life. They all declared they had never heard of it until it was brot out on the trial of John Surratt now pending. The President said Holt laid the proceedings of the Court before him and wrote the order of approval of the sentence for him to sign and that the recommendation was not attached. He also showed me the original papers with the order of approval of Holt's handwriting on them and the order now attached in such way as to show that it had been subsequently done. Also Pitman's report of the trial certified to contain the full and complete proceedings and this recommendation is not there. It had been kept from the President and they were afraid to give it to Pitman for publication as it would disclose the fact of its existence and lead to an exposure of its infamous suppression" (p. 155).

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

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*Three Plays: Tekakwitha, Lily of the Mohawks; The White Flower of the Canienga; Tekakwitha Who Moveth All Before Her.* By Sister of St. Joseph, Brentwood. Tekakwitha League, New York, 1933, 70 pp. \$1.00.

These three plays are a part of the propaganda, properly so-called, of the Tekakwitha League. The glamorous character about which their mutual theme revolves is Tekakwitha (baptized Catherine by Father Lamberville in 1675), the daughter of a Mohawk brave and a Catholic Algonquin woman captured by the Iroquois in a raid upon Three Rivers, Quebec. She is at various times in legend and in history referred to as "the Indian Saint," "La Sainte Sauvagesse," and "the Lily of the Mohawks."

These plays are executed after the manner of *Hiawatha* in trochaic verse which lends itself well to staging with a background of tom-tom music. The action is slow and perhaps will prove a deterrent to their popularity, but, since their central figure is the Cross, their appearance during this Holy Year of 1933 may offset this drag upon their attractiveness.

EDWARD H. YOUNG

Topeka, Kansas

# MID-AMERICA

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

*The Reverend Mariano Cuevas, S. J., is author of the outstanding history of the Catholic Church in Mexico, which on the appearance of the first volume in 1923 was crowned by the Royal Academy of History of Madrid.*

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